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A BREIFFE NARRATION

OF THE

SERVICES DONE TO THREE NOBLE LADYES,

BY

GILBERT BLAKHAL.

ABERDEEN: PRINTED AT THE CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICE,  
BY WILLIAM BENNETT.

A  
BREIFFE NARRATION

OF  
THE SERVICES DONE  
TO  
THREE NOBLE LADYES,

BY  
GILBERT BLAKHAL,

PREIST OF THE SCOTS MISSION IN FRANCE, IN THE LOW COUNTRIES,  
AND IN SCOTLAND.

M.DC.XXXI — M.DC.XLIX.

ABERDEEN:  
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## The Editor's Preface.



HERE is little known of the Author of the following Work beyond what he has there recorded of himself. A family of the name of Blackhall appear in the fourteenth century, as proprietors of the lands of Blackhall, situated in the district of The Garioch, in Aberdeenshire.<sup>1</sup> In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we find them still in possession of these lands, together with the office "*Coronatoris et Forrestariae regalitatis de Gareoche.*"<sup>2</sup> Father Blakhal does not state that he was descended of this family, but he incidentally mentions, in these Memoirs, that he was descended from the ancient and honourable house of Balquhaine, and in another place he alludes to his descent from the Ogilvies of Findlater. Alexander Blakhall, of Finnersye, in the parish of Echt, and Robert Blakhall, in Cruden, were his cousins, as well as Mr. James Forbes, whose name frequently occurs in his first chapter.<sup>3</sup> It is not unreasonable to conjecture that he was a relative of Mr.

<sup>1</sup> [On 10th August, 1398, Willielmus de Blackhall is one of the inquest which retoured William of Tullideff, as heir to his father, John of Tullideff, in the Lands of Ledyntosbach and Rormase. (*Registrum Aberdonense*, vol. i., p. 201. Printed for the Spalding Club.)]

<sup>2</sup> [Willielmus Blakhall is served heir to his father, William Blakhall of that ilk, on 1st Feb. 1547, in terris de Blakhall in regiditate de Gareoche A. E. 40s. N. E. £6, Officio Coronatoris et Forrestariae regalitatis de Gareoche, A. E. 10s. N. E. 30s. Inquis. Retorn. Abb. vol. i. (4.)]

[On 29th Sept. 1643, John Blackhall is retoured as heir male to his father, William Blakhall, in villa et terris de Blakhall, cum duabuscroftis terrae ejusdem infra parochiam de Innerurie: officio coronatoris et forrestarii de Garrioche A. E. 40s. N. E. £4; villa et terris de Auldtoun de Knokinblebis (vel Knokinblewis) infra baroniam de Balquhayne et parochiam de Innerurie A. E. 20s. N. E. 40s. Inquis. Retorn. Abbrev. vol. i. (270.)]

<sup>3</sup> [Services Done to Three Noble Ladies, pp. 5, 44, 72.]

William Blakhall, a Regent in Marischal College, regarding whom we are informed by Spalding :

" About the 24 of February, Mr. William Blakhall, one of the regentis of Colledge Marschall, a prompt scoller, bred, borne, and brocht up in Aberdene, and never yit out of the countrie, refusit to subscribe the countrie covenant, as the rest did, quhairupone he was deposit of his regency ; thairefter he leivit simply in sober maner within the toune. He is callit in suspitioun of poperie, he is convenit before the session of Abirdene, and at last brocht befor the presbiterie vpon the forsaid 24 of Februar, the samen then sitting within the Colledge of Old Aberdene, Mr. David Lindsay, persone of Balhelvy, moderator. He is accusit of what religion he wes of, and of what kirk he wes. Elter sun usueris, at last he planelie and avoutlie declairit he was ane Romane Catholik, and wold ayd be the samen, to the astonishment of the haill heiraris, being of ane uther profession, as appeint, and so pertlie (now in tyme of the hottest persecutioun of papistis heir in this land) to manifest himself so. Alwaies, efter sun dealling with him by the ministrie and brotheren, at last he is excommunicat, and chargit to conforme or leave the countrie. This may be nottit with the fyre of the said Marschall Colledge, as ye have befoir, as ane second viseit ; the thrid follonis. This Blakhall wes excommunicat upone the 20 of Marche, syne leavis the countrie." <sup>1</sup>

A Thomas Blakhall, burgess of Aberdeen, who is also referred to by Spalding, was also probably connected with our Author. <sup>2</sup>

It appears, from the scanty records which still exist of the early history of the Scotch College at Rome, that Blakhal was received as a student into that seminary in the year 1626.

This College was founded by Pope Clement VIII., in the year 1600, with the view of furnishing to a few Scotch youths the ecclesiastical education which the circumstances of their own country did not permit them to receive at home. For fifteen years it was directed by an Italian prelate, Monsignor Paulini. In 1615, Father Patriek Anderson, a talented Scotch Jesuit, nephew to Dr. John Lesly, Bishop of Ross, received the charge of the College. After a short time, he went as missionary to Scotland, where, in 1620, he suffered a

<sup>1</sup> [History of Troubles, 1624—1645, vol. ii., pp. 10, 11.]

<sup>2</sup> [Mr. Thomas Blakhall, ane burges of the toune, causit bring his lauful barne to the kirk to be baptisit upone the tent of Aprile abefoir [1643], and held wpe the barne in his oune hand as the custom is, bot Mr. Andrew Cant wold not give the barne baptisme in the fathers hand, whill ane gossop gat the barne in his hand, alledging he wes ane papist, syne baptisit the barne. Sic heirefter moir. (Hist. of Troubles, vol. ii., p. 154.) Upone the samen Sunday and 8 of October Mr. Thomas Blakhall and his wyf both excommunicat as papistis. (*Ibid.*, p. 150.)]

severe imprisonment for his religion. On being released, he went to England, where he died in 1624. He is the author of a work still extant, entitled, *The Ground of the Catholicque and Roman Religion on the Word of God*. 1623. 4to.

When Father Anderson left Rome, the College was for a short time put under the direction of Italian Jesuits, but, in 1622, received for its superior Father George Elphinstone, another Scotch Jesuit, who continued in that office till 1644. It was under this Father, therefore, that Blakhal pursued his studies.

Among his fellow students were John Smith and Francis Dempster, with three others, who became afterwards priests in the Society of Jesus. Smith and Dempster were both missionaries in Scotland, and suffered incarceration as such. The latter carried on a controversy with John Menzies, Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen, some pieces of which were printed.<sup>1</sup> Other College companions of Blakhal were William Leslie, who died, at an advanced age, Canon of St. Quintin's, in France, and Thomas Chambers, who became one of Cardinal Riche-lieu's almoners, with two others, Gilbert Brown and Alexander Young, who became priests, but of whose subsequent history nothing is known.

The students of the Scotch College at Rome at that time prosecuted their studies by assisting at the lectures and academical exercises given in the celebrated University, called the Roman College, in which then, as now, all the Professors were Jesuits.

Blakhal continued a member of the Scotch College for four years. Having terminated the usual curriculum of theology, he was ordained sub-deacon on the 23d of February, deacon on the 16th, and priest on the 30th March, Easter Eve, 1630. His companion, Gilbert Brown, who had entered the seminary with him, was ordained at the same time.

<sup>1</sup> [One of Mr. Menzies' pamphlets was printed at the expense of the Magistrates of Aberdeen, and is entitled "*Popismus Lucifugus*; or, a Faithful Copie of the Papers exchanged betwixt Mr. John Menzies, Professor of Divinity in the Marischal Colledge of Aberdene, and Mr. Francis Dempster, Jesuit, otherwise surnamed Rin or Logan. Aberdene: Printed by John Forbes, younger, Printer to the Town. Anno Dom. m.dcl.xxviii." An Answer appeared, entitled, "Scolding no Scholarship in the Abuss; or, Groundless Grounds of the Protestant Religion, as holden out by Mr. Menzies, in his brawlings against Mr. Dempster. 1679." Another of Mr. Menzies' productions has the following title: "*Roma Mendax*; or, the Falshood of Rome's High Pretences to Infalibility and Antiquity evicted, in Confutation of an Anonymous Popish Pamphlet, undertaking the Defence of Mr. Dempster, Jesuit. By John Menzeis, Professor of Divinity in Aberdene. 1679."]

Immediately after this he left Rome, and seems to have proceeded directly to Paris, where, in 1631, we find him engaged by his cousin, Mr. Forbes, to be confessor to the Lady Isabelle Hay. His services to this lady, while engaged in performing the functions of his office, occupy the first chapter of his book. After he had seen this lady settled as a Canoness at Mons, he returned to Scotland in 1637, where he performed the duties of a missionary in the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, and at the same time acted as chaplain to the Lady Aboyne, at Aboyne Castle. His services to this lady, while engaged as her chaplain, are contained in the second chapter of his book. His course, as a missionary, (he says, p. 68,) “was not very great, but only from the house of Aboyne to Aberdeen, two and twenty miles, where I did confesse and communicat all the Catholics that were their; and from Aberdeen to Buchan, a mater of nyntein or twenty miles, where I had but five Catholic houses to go to; Blaire, tenne miles from Aberdeen; and Shives, fyve or six miles from Blaire; and Gieht, as far from Shives; and Artrachy, nynne or tenne miles from Gieht; and Cruden, six miles from Artrachy; and the distance betwixt these houses obliged me to stay a night in each of them to say messe, confesse, communicat, and exhort the Catholics be way of a short preaching; and from Buchan to Strathbogie, wher I used to stay but three or four nights, the first in the village, they cal it the Raus, in Robert Rinne his house, an hostellerye, wher the poor Catholieks convened; the second, in Carneborrow, wher Neulesly and his daughter did come to me, and sometimes I did go to Neulesly his house; the third night to Craigge, six miles from Carneborrow, and Carneborrow is four miles from Strathboggie.”

After the death of the Countess of Aboyne, he returned to France, in the month of April, 1643, with the view of inducing the Marchioness of Huntly to withdraw her young grand-daughter, and only child of the Countess of Aboyne, from Scotland, and bring her to France to be educated. Having failed in this purpose, he applied to the Queen of France to use her influence in accomplishing his design; and the good services which he rendered to this young lady, in bringing her out of Scotland, and afterwards settling her in France, occupy the third chapter, and the largest portion of the work.

The eve of Blackhall's life is equally obscure as its morning. The Narrative now printed was written, as appears by a comparison of dates mentioned in it, in the year 1666 or 1667. He was then at Paris. How long he survived the composition of it, is unknown.

To understand the position of Blakhal and his fellow-labourers at the period of their exertions, and the general state of the Roman Catholic Mission in Scotland, it is necessary to look back to the period when that church ceased to be the established church of the land. The Reformation in this country is dated from 1560, when the Romish Church was legally proscribed; and it has been asserted that "the whole nation was converted by the lump, and within ten years after Popery was discharged in Scotland, there was not in all Scotland ten persons of quality to be found who did not profess the true reformed religion, and so it was among the commons in proportion. Lo! here a nation born in one day, yea, moulded into one congregation, and sealed as a fountain with a solemn oath and covenant: this was singular."<sup>1</sup> Such assertions as these contradict the presumption arising from the sturdy tenacity so characteristic of the national character, in clinging to any system good or bad which has long entwined itself with the feelings of veneration, the habits and prejudices, as well as the superstitious, of the people, and are opposed to the real history of the period.

By the measures which were adopted in 1560,<sup>2</sup> the Roman Catholic system in Scotland received a blow which indeed stunned it for a time, which drove many of its members, both clergy and laity, into foreign countries at the first,<sup>3</sup> while those who remained were glad to conceal their sentiments, and for a

<sup>1</sup> [Kirkton's Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland, pp. 21, 22.]

<sup>2</sup> [By the acts of Parliament concerning "the jurisdiction and authoritie of the Bischope of Rome, called the Paip," "anent the abolition of idolatrie, and all actis contrair to the Confession of Faith, publist in this Parliament," and also, by the act "anent the abolition of the Messe," dated 24th August, 1560, and ratified 20th December, 1567, the Roman Catholic establishment was overthrown, and the profession of that faith became a severe offence against the laws of the country. By the last, it was ordained, "that na maner of personis say mess, nor yet heir mess, nor be present thairat, vnder the paine of confiscatioun of all thair guds, movable and unmovable, and pynessing of thair bodeis at the discretioun of the magistrat within quais jurisdiction sik personis happynis to be apprehendit for the first falt, banissing the realme for the second, justifying to the deed for the third falt." And all sheriffs, stewarts, baillies, and their deputes, provosts and baillies of boroughs, and all other judges, were enjoined to make diligent search and inquisition "quhair any sik vsurpit ministrie is vsit. mess saying, or thai that beis present at the doing thair of, ratifyand and approvand the samyn. and tak and apprehend thame, to the effect that the panis above writen may be execut vpon them."] ]

<sup>3</sup> [In their first consternation the clergy seem to have fled to England, where a great number of monks and friars were officiating as curates in the north, in 1563 and 1565. To prevent further immigration, the English Privy Council ordained "that all frequent passages into this realm to and from Scotland be restrained to all Scottish men, saving such as have safe conduct or be especially recommended by Mr. Randolph." Mr. Nichol Burne, in the Epistle to James VI., prefixed to his controversial work, "The Disputation halden in Scotland concerning the Contro-

time to conform, to a certain extent, to the new system; but it was never wholly extirpated, and after a certain time it seemed to regain much of its power and influence, amid the most unpropitious circumstances, and in the face of the severest pains and penalties.

Had such laws as were then enacted, involving confiscation of goods and imprisonment for the first offence of saying or hearing mass, or being present thereat, banishment for the second, and death for the third, been stringently enforced, the old religion would soon have been effectually put down, nor would its extirpation have been attended with the difficulties which actually occurred. Had the national revolt from the former system been so complete and radical as has been represented. But various causes concurred to prevent this. The enacting of a law in Scotland, how good soever it might have been, rarely inferred the general observance of it, a remark which applies to our Scottish history both before and after the period in question. But the King never was hearty in enforcing to the utmost rigour these severe laws, nor was the power of Government ever so extended or absolute over all classes in the kingdom, as to enforce them, if it had been really desirous of doing so. The nation had not been unanimous at the Reformation. Even in 1590, says a recent historian, "the great struggle between the principles of the Reformation and the ancient faith was lulled only, not concluded."<sup>1</sup> A paper drawn up by Lord Burghley, about this year, "brings forward, in clear contrast, the comparative strength of the Catholic and Protestant parties in Scotland. From it we learn that all the northern part of the kingdom, including the counties of Inverness, Caithness, Sutherland, and Aberdeen, with Moray, and the sheriffdoms of Buchan, of Angus, of Wigton, and of Nithsdale, were either wholly, or for the greater part, in the

versis Headdis of Religion." 1581, remarked to the King, "that his Graces ain subjectis . . . ar nou dispersit onlie for conscience caus almaist throuch al Europ." The great number of Scots-men in the capacity of priors, canons, curates, and enjoying benefices in France, is referred to in the *Miscellaneæ Scotica*, vol. iv., p. 19. Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, was promoted to several benefices; Bishop Lesly of Ross, was made Suffragan of Rouen, by Cardinal Bourbon, and Elect of Constance; Bishop Chisholm, coadjutor of Dumblane, became Bishop of Vaison; Dr. James Cheyne of Buchan, Canon and Grand Penitentiary of the Cathedral of Tournay; James Laing of Auchterless, Doctor of the Sorbonne; Sir Ninan Winzet, Abbot of Ratisbon; Sir Adam King, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics at Paris; Mr. John Fraser of Philorth, Abbot of Noyon, and Rector of the University of Paris; Thomas Barclay, Reg. Professor in the University of Toulouse, &c. &c.]

<sup>1</sup> [History of Scotland by Patrick Fraser Tytler, vol. ix. p. 36.]



interest of the Roman Catholic party, commanded mostly by noblemen who secretly adhered to that faith, and directed in their movements by Jesuits and priests, who were concealed in various parts of the country, especially in Angus." <sup>1</sup> Again, in 1592, "thirteen of the nobility of Scotland were Roman Catholics; and in the northern counties, a large proportion of the people were attached to the same faith." <sup>2</sup> It would have been difficult to have carried into execution laws which inferred the highest pains against such large and influential numbers of individuals. The greater part of the nation, however, did appear to concur in the new opinions; but the severe enactments to which we have referred, and the system pursued towards Roman Catholics during the succeeding reign, led to a system of very extensive hypocrisy and deception, by inducing many, who firmly clung to the old opinions, to conform outwardly to the new.

This exterior conformity to the Reformed faith, combined with real adherence to the Romish system, may be traced from the Reformation, downwards to the middle of the seventeenth century. The Roman Catholic clergy who remained in the kingdom after their church was overthrown, assumed the disguise of soldiers, sailors, physicians, &c., and from the dangers which surrounded them sprung the travesty which was common to the missionaries until a recent date. Others of the clergy, who conformed externally, and with the view of maintaining their assumed characters, retained in their houses, under the appearance of matrimony, females, with whom they lived in reality celibates. <sup>3</sup> Some who took office in the Established Church were occasionally falling away, and were discovered by their refusing to partake of the Sacraments, <sup>4</sup> while others continued to be steady

<sup>1</sup> [History of Scotland, by Patrick Fraser Tytler, vol. ix., pp. 39, 40.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Ibid.*, p. 80.]

<sup>3</sup> [Father Robert Scott's MS., penes Dr. Kyle.]

<sup>4</sup> [Dr. John Hamilton addressed the ministers thus in 1581, concerning "sic courteurs quhom ye say hes subscriyvit with you vnder hypoerisie, and vnder houpp of the Paipis dispensatioun, vsis your sacramentis, quhill yai may haiff occasioun, (God grant yat in this ye may be trew prophetis) to subuert your religioun." (Catholik and Facile Traietise, drawin out of the Holie Scriptures treulie exposit be the ancient doctors, to confirm the real and corporell praesence of Chrystis pretious body and blude in the sacrament of the altar," &c. p. ult.) In another work, published in 1600, he refers to the exertions made to get all parties to sign the Confession, and to the refusals of some Roman Catholics to comply, while he adds that some, "*for feare of tinsel of geir,*" were willing to sign it so far as the articles were collected out of Scripture or consonant thereto. (Ane Facile Traietise, contenand an Infallible Reul to Discern Trew from Fals Religion, p. 83.)

In 1582, among certain articles agreed on by the General Assemblies, was one, "That such as are knawin to be Papists, and notwithstanding their aiths, handwreits, and outward obedience, are tryit to haue returnit to their vomit, and made apostasie, wayting still the tyme and occasione

supporters and ornaments, both by their learning and piety, of the Reformed doctrines.<sup>1</sup>

The progress of the reaction which took place in favour of the Roman Catholic system, may be traced in the following extracts from "The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland," [Edinb. 1839,] which contains the proceedings of its General Assemblies from the first Assembly, on 20th December, 1560, to that held on the 13th August, 1616. Much of the attention of these Assemblies, after 1575, was directed to the gradual re-introduction of the Roman Catholic system, and the extracts in question show what means were adopted to prevent its recurrence, and the causes which were assigned for its renewed existence. The weapons which the Roman Catholic hierarchy had wielded in opposing the Reformed doctrines, were now turned against themselves, but in a less cruel spirit; for the fires in which Hamilton, Mill, and Wishart had been consumed, were never rekindled in Scotland after the era of the Reformation, although the laws which were passed for

to cut the throats of the godly, may be punished as traytors to God and our sovereigne be banished or utherwayes." (Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, p. 267. Edinb. 1839.)

In 1582, among certain complaints to be direct to the King's Majestie, one is "That wthers from their youth nurishit in the Kirk of God with us, and sen-syne fearfully fallen back therefrae, and become greit runnagats and blasphemers of the truth, and maintainers of idolatrie and an unman of Sinne Lieutenant of Satane," were received and countenanced at Court. (*Ibid.*, p. 284.)

1592, "Mr. Alexr. Dickson compeirand, and being inquirit if he had subscriyv't the articles of religione presently professit and establischt within the Reformit Kirk of this realme and communicat at the Lord's Table? Answerit, he did both in the Colledge of St. Andrews. And after being inquirit in what heads he differs to subscriye? Answerit, he had sundrie heads qwhere-with he agreed not with the Confession of Faith and articles of religione forsaide; wherewith being pressit with the Assembly, and that either now be word or the morne be wreit he sould be speciall, at lenth plainly avowit and protestit he differed from them in all the substantiall heids and poynts of religione qwherein the Papists contraverts with them. With qwhilk confessione and declaration forsaide the breither of the Assembly being advysit, fand that he had committit apostacie, and therefore to haue incurrit the paines thairof." (*Ibid.*, p. 339.)

In 1595, "Forsuameikle as diverse Papists, and suspect of Papistrie after their subscriptione and oathes, pretending deadly feids, abstayning from the Table of the Lord, whereby they utter themselves in effect and in heart to continow Papists." (*Ibid.*, p. 414.)

1 [Regarding the probable numbers of the Roman Catholic clergy who embraced the Reformed opinions, see McCrie's Life of Knox, note F. Of those Roman Catholic clergymen who conformed to the Reformed opinions, Ninian Winzet says, "I conferrit with meself quhow that micht be that Christiane men, professing, techeing, and preching Christe and his word sa mony yeris, in ane monethis space or thairby suld be changeit sa proudly in sa mony hiech materis, in the plat contrar men. At Pasche, and certane Soundays efter, [1559] thai techeit with gret appering zeale, and ministrat the Sacraments till us, on the Catholik manere; and be Witsunday thai change thair standart in our plane contrare." (The Buik of Fourscoire Thre Questionis, &c., apud Keith's History of Scotland, App., p. 220.)]



putting down the system might have been equally effectual for that purpose, as the more cruel plan of the faggot, had they been fully acted on. There is no particular mention of Roman Catholics in the proceedings of the General Assemblies for about fifteen years after the Reformation, from which we may conjecture that they excited little attention, although occasional cases are to be found in our criminal trials where parties were tried for "rioting to restore the Popish religion," "baptising and marrying in the fashion of Papistry," and, on one occasion, the Archbishop of St. Andrews and forty-eight others were tried for "celebrating the mass, attempting to restore Popery at Kirkoswald, Maybole, Paisley," &c.<sup>1</sup> But gradually the attention of the Church was directed to the re-appearance of the Roman Catholic clergy in the country, and the practising of their religion; and each year seems to have added to the apprehensions entertained on this subject.

In 1575, we find an ordinance to admonish "sic as were Papists, and hes, sen the Act of Parliament, maid confession of their faithes, and, notwithstanding, hes nowayes yet participat the holy Supper of the Lord, participat the Sacrament with the rest of the congregation;" and, if they disobey their admonition, "to be halden as relapsed, and to proceed against them, as relapse, with the sentence of excommunicatione." (P. 147.)

And, again, in 1583, "Ministers that beiris with the people repairing in pilgrimage to wells hard besyde their awne houses, not reproving them, but rather entertayning them with meat and drink in their houses, distributing the communion to their flocks, and not communicating with them be the space of seven or eight ycares, such persones deserves deprivatione." (P. 284.)

In 1579, it was a question "what order shall be taken with those persones that passes to one Popish priest to be married." (P. 192.)

In 1580, measures were taken for enforcing discipline against Papists, "as be evident experience it is knaune to the Kirk that of late dayes syndrie apostates are returned within the countrie, and are spread in diverse provinces." (P. 204.)

In 1581, the Duke of Lennox complained of Mr. Walter Balcanquhall, for having said in the pulpit "that within this four years Papistrie had enterit in the countrie, not only in the Court but in the King's hall, and maintained be the tyrranie of a great campione who is callit Grace." (P. 223.)

In 1586, among articles proponit and cravit of his Majestie, it is stated that Papistry abounds in the north, "by reason of the want of sufficient provision for qualified ministers."

In 1588, "It was proponit in deliberatione quhat sould be the readiest way to quensehe

<sup>1</sup> [Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i., pp. 416, 420, 427.]

the present fyre of Papiseie kindlit throughout all the countrie." (P. 323.) "The advice of the Noblemen, Barrones, and Gentlemen, anent the purging the land of idolatrie and sedicious entysers, was, that the laws should be duly executed against all Jesuites, seminarie priests, idolaters, and maintainers thereof." (P. 324.) Among the "grievs of the Kirk, given in to his Majestie" by this Assembly, they say, "It is an exceeding great grief to see Jesuites, seminarie priests, &c. to be sufferit to pollute this land with idolatrie." (P. 328.) Those mentioned as being "in the north" are "Messrs. James Gordoune, Edmond Hay, Alexander M'Whirrie, John Scott, Alexander Meldrum, Arthur Pantone, Jesuites, makes residence chiefie in Moray and Strabogy, but seduces every where in Buchane, Garrioch, Aberdeene, Marre. They repaire commonly with Airth. Laird of Leslies, elder, Andrew Hervie and his brother, Andrew Leslie of the Peill, excommunicat for Papistrie, the Chancellor of Auld Aberdeene, and to young Glenbervie, excommunicat, where they have their house mass at their pleasure, and their publick mass erectit in the Laird of Leslie's chapell, with twa idols above the altar; and ther hes married two common adulterous harlots, Andrew Procter and Janet Wilsone, wha wold never give obedience to the Kirk." (P. 329.) "In Rosse," "Mr. Alexander Leslie, person in Kinkin, newly providit, an excommunicat Papist; in the Presbyterie of Aberdeene, Sir Donald Simsone, profaner of baptisme and abuser of marriage." In Mearns and Angus, among others, "Thomas Abercrombie of Middle Gourdie, having subscriv'd, communicates not, but continues ane commone reasoner against the religione, a defender of Papistrie, a receiver of Jesuites. Patrick Lyndsay, brother to the Laird of Wame, ane reasoner against the truth in every place." (P. 330.)

"The Abbacie of Dunfermling<sup>1</sup> gine to the Earl of Huntly, qwherunto he and the Papists with him resorts." (P. 330.)

"In Lawthiene," "syndrie Papist priests, confessing themselves to have said masse, and preachit Papistrie in this land, being apprehendit be the Magistrats of Edinburgh, and putt in ward, are sett at libertie without any punischment or satisfactioun of the kirk, viz. : Mrs. Alexander M'Whirrie, James Settoune, John Scott, and uthers." (P. 331.)

In Striveling, "The kirks so ill plantit, scarcely three hes ministers. Superstitious ceremonies, pilgrimages and Christs wells, ffasting, bainfyres, girdls, carrels, and such lyke." "Anent the disputs held betwixt Mr. James Gordoune and Peter Blackburne.

<sup>1</sup> [The Abbey of Dunfermline was probably more favoured than any similar institution in Scotland after the Reformation. It was partially destroyed in 1560; but we find from Father Robert Scott, that in 1580 the monks attended Choir with locked doors. Robert Pitcairn, its first commendator, had been, under the Romish hierarchy, a candidate for the Archdeanry of St. Andrews. On July 16, 1577, John Durie, "minister of Christis Evangill, sumtyme ane of the Conventuall Brethir of the Abbacy of Dunfermling," and Joshua, his son, got a pension of £66 13s. 4d. for their lives, from Robert Pitcairn, Commendator of Dunfermling, in lieu of his "habeit-silueir" and other dues, which was confirmed by King James VI., Jan. 23, 1579. (Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i., p. 436.) The Master of Gray, the next holder, was a Roman Catholic. We see that the Earl of Huntly had it in 1588; and, in 1591, Lord Urquhart received the Abbey, and the title of Earl of Dunfermline. In 1593, James conferred it on his Queen, Anne of Denmark, whose religion was at that time suspicious; so that, under the auspices of "Abbots" thus biassed, it is probable the monks suffered little molestation.]

committit to the review of Mr. Androw Melvill, and certain breither, the said Mr. Androw reportit that, on the part of the said Mr. James and the enemies, they find great diligence and sophistrie, always praised be God for the knowledge gine to their brother, in quhai answer they had found solid judgement and great light, to the praise of God, and the overthrow of the enemies." (P. 331.)

Among the causes of a fast appointed by this Assembly were, "The flocking hame of Jesuits and Papists," "the defection of the multitude from the truth." (P. 332.)

In 1589, occurred the "raid of the Brig of Dee," "which being considerit to haue notoriously importit speciall prejudice to the trew religion, publickly profest and established be the mercy of God, within this realme, nottheless the special authors and interprysers of the same, remaining under the said selander, hes never meinit to purge themselves therof by confessione of their offence, and satisfying the Kirk of God therefore," a commission was appointed, with power to summon before them the Earls, Lairds, Barons, Freeholders, who were parties in the raid,<sup>1</sup> and charge them to acknowledge their offence, and make satisfaction therefor. (P. 351.)

In 1593, "seeing the increase of Papistrie is daily within this realme." (P. 381.)

In 1594, among the dangers which were represented to the King, as impending, the fifth arose from "the erection of the idolatrie of the masse, in diverse quarters of the land," and among others, "in the Earl of Huntlie's house of Strabogy and Auld Aberdene, in the Earl of Arrol's houses of Logyamount and Slaines." (P. 399.)

In 1596, "in respect of the report of the brethren of the north, that gentlemen and burgesses are lyke to leave their houses for fear of the enemies, seeing their great insolence unrepressed at hame, returning of their wyves to the countrie againe, and their provisions in their houses and castles for their hame coming, qwhilk is murmurit against in all the countrie: For remedie it is cravit that the Ladies of Huntlie and Arroll presently be brought back againe, and placit in St. Androis; my Lord Gordone sicklyke to be brought to the south, and put to the schools. Their friends in the south to be wardit; as Cluny, Geight, Abergaldie, Cowbardie, Bonytounne, younger, Craige, younger, Alexander Hay of Auchmather, Mr. Alexander Leslie of Peill, James Knowes, John Gordoune of Newtounne. To be apprehendit, Towie Barclay, Patrick Conn." (P. 434.)

In 1597, the Earls of Huntly, Erroll, and Angus, after conference with the brethren appointed to deal with them, and hearing of the word at the places appointed them, acknowledged that all their doubts were solved, that "the Reformit Kirk of Scotland was the trew Kirk;" and they were ready to join themselves thereto, hear the word, participate in the sacraments, and obey the hail discipline of the Kirk. (Pp. 452, 453, 454, 455.)

In 1602, Mr George Gladstones, Minister at St. Andrew's, who had been directed by the Assembly of 1601 to remain with the Marquis of Huntly for "ane quarter or ane half year, to the effect be his travells and labours the said noble lord and his family might be informit in the word of truth, presently profest within this realme, and the enemies thereof debarrit from his company," reported that he had staid three days with the Marquis,

<sup>1</sup> [The Catholic faction, known by the name of the Confederates of the Brig of Dee. (Tytler's Hist. of Scot., vol. ix., p. 41.)]

and that, "having demandit why his lordship's kirks were not plantit, and why he resortit not to the preaching at the ordinarie tymes in parochie kirks? To the first, he answerit that the non-planting of his kirks proceeds upon the not giving licence to the parsons of the saids kirks to renew his tacks, conforme to the promise made to his lordship be the Commissioners of the Assemblie at the tyme his lordship grantit to ane augmentation of the rent of the said kirks. As to the second, he could not well resort to the parochie kirk, partly in respect of the meine rank of such as were within the parochie, and partly in respect his lordship's predecessors were in use to have ane chappell in their owne house, quhilk he was myndit to prosecute now, seeing he was presently preparing his house of Strathbogie." (Pp. 505, 506.)

Among the Articles of the Synod of Fyffe, presented to the Assembly, 1602, the eleventh is, "That the noblemen lately releicit fra excommunication for Papistrie gives no token of the profession of the truth, but rather the contrair." (P. 515.)

At the Assembly held at Linlithgow in 1608, it is stated, that "ane of the maist speciall causes of the convention of this present Assemblie is for suppressing Papistrie and idolatrie, quhilk dayly mair and mair increases within this realme, and repressing of Papists, Jesuits, and seminarie priests, quhois number still mair and mair increases within the same." (P. 575.)

At this Assembly, we find that the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the Marquis of Huntly, which had been for some time delayed in hopes of his repentance. His lordship had granted a bond, dated 30th June, 1608, obliging himself to "satisfie the Kirk be communicating betwixt the date thereof and the 17th of July last bypast, under the pain of excommunication;" and as he had given no such satisfaction, he was unanimously ordered to be excommunicated. (Pp. 576, 577.)

One cause of the increase of Papistrie is said to be the "rasche and sudden admission of men to the ministrie that are not able to withstand and convince the adversary in the daye of apostacie." (P. 578.) And, among the overtures for remedying the evil, the fourth is, "That Papists quho ance have been knowne professors of Papistrie, and for eschewing of civil paines, or hope of preferment, will abjure their religion, that his Majestie will please to cause enact that it shall not be lawfull to such to enjoy any office or honor in the commonwealth, notwithstanding of their oath, and communicating, untill fyve yeares probatione had been taken of their constancie and sinceritie in professing of the truth." And, ninthly, "That his Majestie give order for the downcasting of Gicht's Chappell, the house of John Cheine, in Esselmonth, quho receipts all Jesuits and seminarie preists." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [In a remonstrance from the Synod of Aberdeen to the King, in 1606, it is stated, "First, That Mr. Jhone Hamiltoun, Mr. James Setone, Luik Gordone, and utheris uncouth priestis and Jesuits under them, are recat, and are hard saying mass in Cathness, Sudderland, and this province, be great men and utheris under them, abusing the sacrament of baptisme to their infantis, sparsling Hamiltoun's blasphemous new book amangst them, and seducing them everie way that ar simpill.

"Secondlie, That the Lairdis of Gicht and Newton, excommunicat Papists, cheifl' mantenaries of these things, are sufferit, and no orlour tane with them.

"Thirdly, That quhen the ministrie of the Synodis of Aberdeen and Murray laboris be the censuris of the Kirk to reduce my Lord Marques of Huntlie and Earl of Erroll to the acknowledging of the treuth and leaving of Papistrie, they are continuallie dischargit be your Majesty's letteris of burning.

"Fourthlie, That ane great number of Kirkis planted in this countrey are leaft altogether d-

The Assembly held at Aberdeen in 1616, was called mainly "to obviat the great increase of Papistrie within this realme," (p. 589); and among the remedies, it was ordained that those who had conformed to the Reformed religion, "and after reconciling to the Church, shall be tryit and found to weare and beare under persone *Agnus Dei* beads, cross, crucifixes, or to have uther house idols or images, or in their books such thing as before they have superstitiously used, the same shall incurr just suspicion of apostacie and falling back; and they being convict thereof, shall be halden and repoute as apostats."

(P. 590.) His Majesty was to be applied to, "that the lovable laws and acts of Parliament made by his Majestie in tymes bypast against traffiquing Papists, Jesuites, or seminarie priests, may be put to executione in time coming with rigour." And lists of such recusants in the whole realm were to be taken. (P. 591.)

It was resolved to answer the books and pamphlets spread through the country by the Papists, and to provide against the dangers which arose from certain women who "tacks upon them to bring up the youth in reading, sewing, and utheris exercises in schools, under pretext and cullour quherof traffiquing Papists, Jesuites, and seminarie priests bes their appointed tymes of meeting, at the quhilk tyme they catechise, and pervert the youth in their growing and tender age;" and also against "diverse of the saids Jesuits, traffiquing Papists, and seminarie priests," who "goes about under cullour and pretext of doctors of physicke and apothecaries, deceaving and perverting the people from the trew religione protest within this countrie." (P. 592.)

At this Assembly the Marquis of Huntly was again reconciled to the Established Church, having been also previously absolved from excommunication by the Archbishop of Canterbury. (P. 598. See Miscellany of Spalding Club, vol. ii., p. lx.)

It is known from other sources, that, while, from 1580 downwards, the assaults of the Jesuits were incessant and general throughout the kingdom, it was in the north more especially that their attempts produced the most powerful effect. The influence of the Earls of Huntly, who reigned the petty monarchs of the north, while it for many years retarded the progress of the Reformed religion within the extensive territories where their sway extended, long afterwards so protected the priests and Romish teachers, that this quarter of Scotland has been regarded as "the chief scene of that vain struggle to restore the ancient religion, which has been called the Anti-Reformation. Hopeless as this endeavour might seem, it met with considerable success among the gentry of the shire and the wealthier burgesses of the town. Even in the reign of Charles I., the ancient faith was held

solate, be the lang continuing in ward of their pastoris, seing the maist pairt of utheris kirks are unplantiit.

"*Fyftlie*, Be the occasion, the maist pairt of the rest of the ministrie are contemnit and rayled upon, and ther doctrine not hard, and discipline mocked, and Jesuits enteris in the kirkis, and parochinis wanting pastoris." (Miscellany of Spalding Club, vol. ii., p. 151.)



by the Marquis of Huntly and the chief men of his name, such as the Lord Aboyne, the Lairds of Craig, Gight, Abergeldie, Lesmore, and Letterfourie; by the Earl of Errol and his kinsmen of Delgaty and Fetterletter; and by many other ancient or powerful houses, such as the Leslies, the Bissets, and the Blackhalls, in the Garioch; the Irvings and Couttses, in Mar; the Cheynes, the Cons, and the Furings, in Buchan."<sup>1</sup>

On the accession of James VI. to the English throne, a larger measure of indulgence seems to have been meted out to the Roman Catholics, or perhaps rather, it should be said, to the more influential of their number, and their measures for some time were bolder. The Marquis of Huntly and Gordon of Craig were the first to receive the Royal sanction for the *private* exercise of their religion. From this period the Roman Catholics maintained an agent, or resident, at London, to negotiate for them, and thereby screen themselves from the interference of the Established Church.<sup>2</sup>

About this time occur the trials of several Jesuites who had returned from their places of refuge. For the simple exercise of their religion they were generally banished, but in one case, where treasonable opinions were advanced and taught, the punishment was death.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Book of Bon-Accord, p. 229. See List of Papists in Miscellany of The Spalding Club, vol. ii., p. liv.]

<sup>2</sup> [Relation of State of Religion in Scotland, forwarded to the Court of Madrid, in 1625, by a Regular Clergyman. MS. apud Preshome, quoted by the Rev. Mr. Griffin.]

<sup>3</sup> [See "Trial of Mr. Robert Phillope, preist, and James Stewart, callet James of Jerusalem, of saying and heiring mess." Phillope is stated to have remained abroad since 1599, and to have returned in May, 1613, "off' purpois and intentionn (as he has declairit) to convert saules to the Romane religioun." "Ane of the said messis was said by him in grit solemnitie, with his mess-claithes, consecrat alter, mess buik, and with his vther superstitious rites and ceremonies belonging thairto." They were ordered to be banished for life. (Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, vol. iii., p. 252.) John Ogilvie, a Jesuit, who was a son of Walter Ogilvie of Drum, after an absence of twenty-two years in foreign countries, returned to Scotland about the month of May, 1615, for the purpose of promoting the Roman Catholic religion. He is accused, among other things, "and by your conferences, intisements, auricular confessions, masse saying, and other subtle and crafty meanes, endeavored your selfe, not only to corrupt many of his Maiesties lieges in religion, but also to peruert them from their duetifull obedience due to his Majestie, till you were discouered and apprehended by the Archbishop of Glasgow." But it was explained to him, on the part of the Crown, "You are not accused of saying masse, nor of seducing his Maiesties subjectes to a contrarie religion, nor of any point touching you in conscience, properly; but for declining his Maiesties authorite, against the lawes and statutes of the land, and for maintaining treasonable opinions; such as we of this realme haue not heard by any auowed." His crime was treason, for

Sir Robert Gordon mentions that, in 1614, he obtained indulgence for his brother, John, sixth Earl of Sutherland, after "having in *some measure* satisfied the Church concerning his religion."<sup>1</sup> In 1616, "he purchased vnto her [his mother, Jean Gordon, Countess Dowager of Sutherland] from his Majesty an oversight and tolleration of her religion during the rest of her dayes, and that thencefourth shoe should be no more troubled for her conscience, provyding that shoe wold not harbor nor receipt any Jesuits."<sup>2</sup> At the very time, too, when we find his son, Lord Gordon, executing a Commission against the Romanists in the North, "the Marquis and his Lady were oversein to have the privat exercise of thèr religion be a particular warrand from his Majestie."<sup>3</sup>

After the death of James, the Roman Catholics appear, for some time, to have dropped the disguise which they had been compelled to assume, and which they had found it still necessary to maintain, even while indulged by that monarch with some measure of toleration in regard to their religion. Sir Robert Gordon says<sup>4</sup>:

"After the death of King James (of happie memorie) during the exorbitant power and favour of the Duke of Buckinghame with King Charles, our present sovereigne, the Romane Catholicks of all his Majesties dominions were animated with such vain hops by the said duke, for his owne ends, that they did certainlie expect a present tolleration of religion, if not a public libertie of conscience. But chiefly they grew to such an height of insolencie in the north of Scotland, that it was insupportable, in brawing the bishops and inhabitants of Aberdein with pasquills and libells to their faces, affixing them upon the church porches; which insolencies, coming to his Majesties ears by commissioners sent from the Church of Scotland to that effect, administred the occasion of a sharp animadversion against such as did professe the Romish religion within that kingdome. They were first excommunicated; after the sentence of which excommunication wes past against them, they were declared rebels, and their escheat goods were brought in to the King's vse. Ther houses wer possessed by his Majesties officers appoynted for that purpose, and they themselves were either confined or banished the kingdome.

"Bot because they were strongest, and of greatest number in the north, and so stood most out, the livetenant (the Earl of Morray) being unable (he reasone of his small power) to performe that service, ther culd none be found that wold undertak a commission against them for bringing them in before the secreit counsell, or constraining them to forsake the kingdome; his Majestie, therefore, (by the advyse and counsell of the Church of Scotland,

which he was executed; and, it is believed that, with this exception, no other priest was put to death under the statutes passed against them, while he, as has been seen, was executed for treason.]

<sup>1</sup> [Genealogy of the Earls of Sutherland, p. 298.]

[*Ibid.*, p. 321.]

<sup>3</sup> [*Ibid.*, p. 411.]

<sup>4</sup> [*Ibid.*, pp. 410, 411.]

imposed that service upon the Lord Gordoun (eldest son of George, Marquis of Huntley) as most able every way to performe the same ; which he was unwilling to undertak for divers reasons, bot chiefly for two causes : first, least he should thereby give any occasion of offence or displeasure to his parents, who wer affected that way, and were oversein to have the privat exercise of ther religion be a particular warrand from his Majestie ; nixt, becaus the execution of this commission against the Romanists wold move the French King against him, of whom he had the command of the Scottish company of gens d'armes in France ; yet he did vndertake the service, thereby to give contentment and satisfaction to the King, his master. A commission was granted to him to that effect, in the beginning of the yeir of God, 1630, which he did execute with such dexteritie and moderation, that he gave great satisfaction to his Majestie, and to the Church of Scotland, and lykwise to the Romane Catholics : for divers of them gave obedience to the lawes of the kingdome, and did conforme themselves to the Protestant religion. Some of them did willinglie forsake the kingdome, and retire into France and Flanders, to overslip the storme ; so that heirby the Lord Gordoun did purchase to himselff great credet at all hands, which appeirs by a letter of thanks sent to him by the King, his master, to that effect."

Father William Leslie, sometime a missionary in Buchan, in a letter dated 1st May, 1629, relates the proceedings adopted against the Roman Catholics in Scotland. In the preceding year, Charles I. had addressed a proclamation to the Bishops and Ministers, to mark down, and send to the Privy Council twice in the year, viz. in November and July, the list of all Roman Catholics who declined to attend the service of the Established Church. These were to be searched for, and placed under safe custody. On conviction, they were to be excommunicated, and their goods confiscated. In another letter, dated 1st September, 1630, he states that the Roman Catholics who had appeared before the Council, in the previous month of July, had all been sentenced to banishment. Seven weeks were allowed for their departure, and one-third of their rents was granted for the maintenance of their families ; which would, however, be forfeited if they should return to this country, besides the penalty to be incurred of fine and imprisonment. Father Lesly, shortly after 1636, was appointed superior of the Scots College at Douay. His brother, Father Andrew Leslie, of whom some notices occur in Blakhal's Narrative, was also a missionary in Buchan. In May, 1647, he was seized, conveyed to Aberdeen, and committed to gaol. In Mareh, 1648, he was in Edinburgh gaol ; but, through the influence of Count Montreal, the French Ambassador, he was released from prison, in July, 1648, and ordered to quit the realm, under the penalty of death, should he venture to return.

Among the many families whom such severe measures as were then adopted



drove from their native country, was Mr Menzies of Balgowny,<sup>1</sup> whom we find living at Dieppe in 1630, when Blakhal's Narrative commences. He appears to have returned to Scotland, but was again compelled to fly in 1643. Blakhal in that year, with the view of inducing the Marquis of Huntly to send his niece to France, who refused to send her among soldiers, assured him that "there were divers Catholick families to go in that shippe also, as well as the soldiers, such as the Laird of Belgownie, with his ladye and nynne children, and others whole families of Catholicks banished out of the contrie."<sup>2</sup>

In 1630, we have seen that Sir R. Gordon describes the Roman Catholics as the strongest and of the greatest number in the north; but the search made for those who were of that faith, and who declined to subscribe the Covenant, was so strict,<sup>3</sup> and the penalties inflicted on them so severe, that it has been asserted, with some show of authority, that the adherents of the Roman Catholic faith in Scotland were reduced, shortly after this time, to the small number of fifty or sixty.<sup>4</sup> But this can only be true of those who avowedly adhered to their religion, and not of those who, while externally they were Protestants, yet retained at heart their former faith, and who, after the Restoration, returned to that faith in great numbers.

<sup>1</sup> ["Now thundring dailie out of pulpites against Papistis in Abirdene; none durst be sein, bot seirchit and socht, sic as Thomas Meingzeis of Balgouny, his wyf, and children." (Spalding's Troubles, vol. ii., p. 122.) "The hors troupes now daylie are cuming fra the camp to both Abirdenis, leaving the foot army behind thame at Kellie and Geicht, wha also cam, upone Thuirsday the 30 of May, from these boundis, and quarterit that nicht upone the Laird of Balgounyis boundis, callit Thomas Meinzes, a Papist, and out of the countrie for his religioun." (*Ibid.* vol. ii., p. 235.)

"About this tyme (February, 1645), [ ] Forbes of Echt compellis Thomas Meingzeis of Balgounyis tennentis, (being fled the countrie for his religioun, leaving ordour to pay men, levie money, loan money, hors, and arms, as the countrie did, and as thay war imposit,) notwithstanding the Estaites had giftit his rentis to this [ ] Forbes, as ye have befoir); he compellit the tennentis to obleige them selfis ilk ane for their awin pairtis to pay and delyver to him the same prices, quhilk thay war oblegit to pay for the victuall to him befoir the first of Marche wnder the pane of plundering, quhilk the poor tennentis for feir wes forcit to pay for the most pairt. The samen ordour wes done with uther papistis lands, as wes said, and parteis send out of Abirdene to ly upone thir landis whill payment war made; as wes done be William Seytoun of Blair, also being a papist." (*Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 293.)

<sup>2</sup> [Services Done to Three Noble Ladies, p. 173.]

<sup>3</sup> [The Papistis of England, Jesuitis and preistis, scharplie socht and the lyk inquisitioun hein in Scotland aganes our Scottis Papistis. Sum in England war execute, uther sum imprissoned. bot owre Papistis wer all fled. (Spalding, vol. ii., p. 29.)]

<sup>4</sup> [Thomson's Manuscript History of Mission, apud Preshome.]

The general system of disguise, concealment, and occasional conformity adopted by the Roman Catholics during the reign of James VI. has been already referred to, and is illustrated by the extracts which have been printed from the "Booke of the Universall Kirk."<sup>1</sup> It was again had recourse to when the laws began to be put in force against them in the times of Charles I. and the Covenant; and many instances of it occur in the records of the time, such as those of Lady Frendraught and Lord Oliphant, recorded in the "Presbytery Book of Strathbogie."<sup>2</sup> Blakhal refers frequently to the disguised names and assumed

<sup>1</sup> [The three northern earls (Huntly, Angus, and Errol) who made so conspicuous a figure in our national history at this period, as already noticed in the extracts from "The Booke of the Universall Kirk," afford a curious instance of this occasional conformity. These noblemen, by entering into treasonable plots with Spain for the invasion of their native country, laid themselves open to prosecutions for treason, in conjunction with their apostasy from the Reformed faith. In their intercepted letters to the Spanish King, in 1588, we find Huntly stating "that his late confession, and his signature to the Protestant articles, had been extorted from him against his conscience, but that in spite of all this he continued a true Catholic, and by this pretended change had acquired a greater power over the young king. In the same letters, Errol professed the utmost devotion to the Catholic faith." (Tytler's Hist. of Scot. vol. ix., p. 24.) They had found it necessary to go abroad in 1595. In 1597, they were reconciled to the Established Church, signed the Confession of Faith, and partook of the Sacrament. They, however, soon fell away, and in 1608, Huntly was excommunicated; and, at the same time, of the Earl of Errol, who, in 1602, was "ane diligent hearer of the word." (Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, p. 506,) it was reported that they could see no appearance in his lordship of conversion from his errors, but rather, "be all evident tokens, he was the mair obstinat and obdurat in his erracie of Papistrie, quhilk he sumtyme aljurat before, be subscriyving of the trew religion presently profest within this realm." (P. 578.) Huntly was again reconciled to the Established Church in 1616; but he remained and died a member of the Romish Church, and was attended at his death, which happened at Dundee, in June, 1636, by Father William Christie. (Oliver's Illust. of Eng. Ir. and Scot. Jesuits.)]

<sup>2</sup> [Regarding the fire of Frendraught, Spalding (History of Troubles, vol. i., p. 7) writes, "It is reported that upon the morne after this woful fire, the Lady Frendraucht, daughter to the Earle of Sutherland, and near cousin to the Marquess, busked in ane whyte plaid, and ryding on ane small nag, haveing ane boy leading her horse, without any more in her company, in this pitifull manner she came weiping and murning to the Bog, desyreing entrie to speak with my lord: but this was refused; so she returned back to her own house the same gate she came, comfortless." This "boy" is said by Oliver, in his "Illustrations of English, Irish, and Scottish Jesuits," to have been a Jesuit, and to have resided at Frendraught Castle. In 1637, we find from Blakhal, p. 58, "My Ladye of Frendret did send to me, praying me to come to her to be her ordinary, for the *fiere* whom she had befor was lately depairted from this lyffe. I refused absolutely to see her, because she was suspected to be guilty of the death of my Lord of Aboyne, who, seaven yeares befor, was burned in the Castle of Frendret." This would seem to support the authority of Oliver, while it indicates the strong contemporary suspicion which existed against the lady as an accomplice in the cruel tragely so vividly described by Spalding in his "Troubles." It is also an interesting instance of the disguises adopted by the adherents of the Roman Catholic faith at this time; for at this very time when she applied to Blakhal to be her *fiere*, we find that the Presbytery of Strathbogie were "dealing" with her for not attending the Established Church, and not communicating. She oc-

characters under which he himself and many others passed; and among others he records, what we should not have been prepared to expect, that Patrick Chambers, the Clerk to the Assembly held at Aberdeen in 1642,<sup>1</sup> was a Roman Catholic at heart, notwithstanding his situation, which would of course involve an exterior behaviour on his part not very conformable to his real character and opinions.

After the Reformation, the small number of the Roman Catholic clergy who remained at their posts perambulated the country in the discharge of their religious duties. Means were adopted in the beginning of the ensuing century for securing a supply of clergy; but in the period between 1580 and 1600, Scotland was taken possession of as a missionary country by members of the Jesuit, Benedictine, Franciscan, Lazarite, and Augustinian orders, into which many of the refugee clergy had retired.

Allied as some of the Scottish Jesuits were with the first families in the State, they found favour and shelter under the roofs of their relations. They were introduced at Court by the same influence. On one occasion, Father James Gordon, fifth son of George, fourth Earl of Huntly, and distinguished from his

asionally attended the church, but in a short time we find complaints of her falling back. At one time she declared that "schoe sould keep the church quher her husband vent;" then, that "she was villing to heir the vord in any kirk saue Abercherdour, and such as are vithin the Presbyterie of Strathbogie." We find that she "was present at familie vorship vithin hir owne familie, and promised to heir sermon;" that "she had keepest sermon at Innerkethnie the last Lordis day;" and she had at one time become "ane ordinaire hearer of the vord, but was not fullie satisfied for subscriyving the Covenant, and that the Laird mad vther ministeris to conferr with hir." Sometime afterwards she was found "not averse from the lawfull commands of the Kirke of Scotland, promiseing in euerie thing to conforme herselfe therto;" "and that she should not giue herselfe to any further acquaintance to the detestable wayes of Poprie, or Popish idolatrie, in any time heerafter." At last, we find her "declaring herselfe to be none of our Church, and shee would neither hear herselfe nor suffer hir daughters to heare; professing, moreover, that shee repented of her former repentance more than of anie sinne that euer she committed, and thought that she had reason to repent all her lyfe time for subscriyving the Nationall Covenant and Solemne League and Covenant." (Presbytery Book of Stathbogie.)

A similar case was that of Lord Oliphant (married to a daughter of the Lady Frendraught), who is first found fault with for not going regularly to his parish church; is then found "begunne to decline to Poperie, dishant ordinances, and frequent the companie of on James Con, ane excommunicat Papist;" and, latterly, is himself excommunicated for popery. (*Ibid.*)

See also the case of Lady Strabane. (*Ibid.*, p. 43.)

1 [Blakhal calls the Assembly a General Assembly. It was, however, merely a meeting of the Synod or Provincial Assembly which sat on the 19th April, 1642. (See Spalding's Hist. vol. ii. p. 39.)]

many namesakes in the society by the epithet *Huntlæus*, held a dispute with James on the controverted points of religion.<sup>1</sup>

These regulars smuggled themselves into the kingdom in many disguises;<sup>2</sup> and where they first found protection, there they settled themselves. It was not so with the native clergy, when the National Colleges began to work effectually, who, from the fewness of their number, were obliged to traverse the length and breadth of the land. The Jesuit stations in the north were Braemar, Glogairn, Glentanar, Strathglass, and Buchan.

To overcome the difficulties and destitution of the Roman Catholics in Scotland, Clement VIII., in 1600, founded the Scots College at Rome, as a nursery for native missionaries.

With similar objects, Archbishop Beaton bequeathed to the Scottish College at Paris the large sum of 80,000 livres. Dr. James Cheyne, brother to the Laird of Arnage, in Buchan, established, according to Archbishop Beaton, a seminary at his own expense in Tournay, which afterwards became incorporated with the College at Douay. Hypollitus Curle, son of the Secretary of Queen Mary, while a student at Douay, devoted to this seminary 60,000 florins. With Beaton, who died in 1603, may be said to have come to an end the Roman Catholic line of Scottish prelates. Chisholm, who had been Bishop of Dunblane, survived till 1630, but he does not seem to have been looked upon by the Scottish Roman Catholics as connected with his see, or to have performed any part of his official duties in connection with Scotland, after the death of Beaton. On the contrary, the Earl of Angus, while an exile in France, in 1610, instead of applying to Chisholm to assist the Scottish Roman Catholics, exerted himself to

<sup>1</sup> [Moyses Memoirs, p. 66.]

<sup>2</sup> [The General Assembly of 24th April, 1582, enacted: "Forsnameikle as, notwithstanding of many diverse godly acts and proclamations sett out be the Kings Majestie as acts and constitutions made be the Kirk against Papists resorting within this countrie from beyond sea; yet, from tyme to tyme, there arryves syndrie professing plain Papistrie, be moyen of the maisters and owners of schips receiving them in their vessels, and transporting them in thir pairts, unknowne either Magistrate or Kirk; where-through no just tryall could be had of them. For remeid thereof the haill Kirk hes votit, and thoct meit, that in tyme cuning all masters and awners of schips arriving within whatsumever port of this realme, strangers and passengers, shall, immediately after their arryvall, present their names to the Magistrate and Sessione of the Kirk of the townes and ports where they arrive, to the effect that the knowledge may be had if they have inbrocht any Papists, under the pain of excommunication and censures of the Kirk to be execute against them; and this Act to be publicly intimat," &c. (Booke of Universall Kirk, pp. 235. 236.)]

procure the consecration of a Bishop for Scotland.<sup>1</sup> After the murder of Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrew's, in 1571, the Chapter elected Mr. Robert Hay to the vacant primacy. The metropolitan elect turned his attention not only to his own suffragan sees, but to all the dioceses of the kingdom; and, in 1578, he conferred extraordinary faculties on seven churchmen, viz., the Dean of Glasgow, the Provost of Methven, Mr William Blackwood of Dunblane, Mr. William Hay, parson of Turriff, Mr. John Strachan, and Fathers Leyeche, and Beythe, or White. Mr Hay was never consecrated Ordinary of St. Andrew's, so that his election came to nothing.

On the extinction of the line of Roman Catholic prelates in England, by the death of Watson of Lincoln, in 1584, it was deemed inexpedient to create any new bishops at that time, and accordingly a clergyman, with the title of arch-priest, enjoying episcopal jurisdiction, was set over the English Church. The first who enjoyed this office was the Rev. G. Blackwell, who was constituted arch-priest, in 1598,<sup>2</sup> and his authority also extended over the mission in Scotland. It was not submitted to without reluctance by the Scotch clergy, whose national spirit of independence concurred with other causes in rendering it highly displeasing. In 1623, the Rev. Wm. Bishop was consecrated Bishop of Chalcedon, and Vicar Apostolic in England, and the Scottish clergymen were again subjected to English jurisdiction, but they struggled to throw off the yoke, and in consequence of repeated memorials to the Roman Court, Pope Gregory XV. ordered Dr Bishop to abstain from exercising jurisdiction in Scotland.

In 1629, a proposal was for the first time made of erecting a missionary body in Scotland, under the superintendence of a native superior, and Pope Urban VIII. granted faculties to Father William Ogilby as prefect of the mission: but it was not till 1653 that, by a decree of Propaganda, the Scottish secular clergy, freed from the jurisdiction of the English prelates, and Jesuit superiority, were incorporated into a body missionary, under the superintendence of the Rev. William Ballantyne, the first prefect of the mission. This appointment must have strengthened the hands of the missionaries considerably, but the regulars were not inclined to yield willing obedience to one who, although vested

<sup>1</sup> [Innes Miss. MSS. penes Dr. Kyle.]

<sup>2</sup> [Historical Memoirs respecting the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics, from the Reformation to the present time, by Charles Butler, Esq. Lond. 1819. vol. ii., p. 275.]



with extraordinary faculties, was by ordination a simple priest; and accordingly it was found that the nomination of a dignitary who should not merely deserve but command the respect and obedience of the whole clergy, both regular and secular, was yet wanting, to make the system work harmoniously or usefully. The missionaries were eager in supplicating the Court of Rome for the appointment of a bishop for all Scotland, but their desire was not acceded to, until they had passed under the successive prefectures of the Reverend Messrs. Ballantyne and Winchester, *alias* Dumbar. During the reign of James II., England had four bishops assigned to it. In Scotland, the regulars opposed the appointment even of one individual invested with episcopal jurisdiction; and, consequently, when the Revolution of 1688 arrived, and plunged the Roman Catholics into many confusions and difficulties, the want of some head, who might have controuled and directed the movements of the scattered members of the Roman Catholic church, was seriously felt. The regulars had been favoured by James II.,<sup>1</sup> and the removal of the royal support, and probably other causes, led to the gradual disappearance from the missionary annals of the religious orders who had so long kept alive the Roman Catholic faith in Scotland. In 1694, the longings of the secular clergy were gratified by the appointment of the Reverend Thomas Nicholson, as bishop of Peristachium and vicar apostolic in Scotland. This gentleman was a member of the house of Kemnay, in Aberdeenshire; and the selection of him to fill this office is said to have been viewed with much satisfaction by those interested in it. One great cause of jealousy between the secular and regular clergy had been the want of well-defined limits, within which the labours of each should be confined. Blakhal alludes to certain jealousies of this sort which occurred between himself and Father Andrew Leslie, his predecessor at Aboyne Castle, (p. 61,) and to the general feeling of the regulars on the subject, (p. 63.) The "meeting of the clergy," which assembled for the first time in the year 1686, ordained that each clergyman should limit himself to a well-defined range, within which he should exercise his ecclesiastical functions. To this law of the prefecture

<sup>1</sup> ["Mrs. Arthur, 7 September, 1702. give to trade what instruments of trade had belonged to her husband, to value £200 St., or thereabout," (MS. penes Dr Kyle). Which being interpreted, from the conventional missionary phraseology of the time, signifies that the Queen of James II gave to the Mission the altar utensils of Holyrood Chapel. A chalice is preserved at Preshome: a thurible and incense boat is in the possession of the Ladies of St. Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh; a silver hand-bell, is also at Preshome.]

the missionaries assented, while the regulars were inclined to demur; and many complaints afterwards occurred of their interference in the districts allotted to the secular clergy. In progress of time, however, as their numbers increased, the secular clergy gradually superseded the regulars, and began to combine in themselves, as at the present day, the united characters of parish priests and missionaries.

It is hoped that this slight sketch of the history of the Roman Catholic Mission in Scotland will prove no unsuitable introduction to Blakhal's work, and may tend to throw additional light on the nature of the labours and dangers which he, and those who performed similar duties, encountered in performing the functions of their office in these disturbed times.

The Narrative of Father Blakhal is, on the whole, a considerable addition to our history of the eventful times during which he lived. The intercourse which he held with persons of all ranks and professions, princes and peasants, ecclesiastics and soldiers, and in such stirring times, could not fail of affording an interesting subject.

Many little pictures of the manners and state of society in Scotland and in France will be found scattered throughout the Narrative. It was at one time proposed to print only selections from the work; but a closer examination of it led to the conclusion that it would be impossible to break up the Narrative, and at the same time retain the sense and spirit of the author, so that the whole work has been printed.

The volume has been printed from the original manuscript, in the author's handwriting, which is in the possession of the Right Reverend Dr. Kyle, to whom the members are indebted for his ready permission to print the work for the Club. It is entitled by the author "A Breiffé Narration of the Services done to three Noble Ladyes, by Gilbert Blakhal, preist of the Scots Mission, in France, in the Low Countries, and in Scotland. Dedicated to Madame de Gourdon, one of the forsaid three, and now Dame d'Attour to Madame." The volume is a small quarto of 136 folios, and is in excellent preservation. A copy, made a few years after the original was written, is now in the library of St. Mary's College at Blairs. It seems to differ in no particular from the author's manuscript, except in occasional variations in the orthography, such as a transcriber might think himself entitled to make. A colophon at the end ascertains the precise

date of this transcript, "Wreatten out of the original by A. P. L. the 9 day of May 1671 in the Scotcs College at Paris."

The Editor avails himself of the present opportunity of acknowledging the courtesy of Dr. Kyle, in communicating information regarding Blakhal on various points noticed in these remarks, as well as his anxiety on all occasions to promote the objects of the Club.

He has also to express his obligations to the Reverend George A. Griffin, of Strichen, for much information regarding the history of the Mission of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland. On this subject, he pointed out and communicated to the Editor various sources of information, which his accurate and intimate acquaintance with the controversial and historical works of the time, and his reference to manuscript authorities not generally accessible, render valuable and interesting.

In the Appendix to the Preface will be found a selection from the lists of papists, given up in the commencement of the reign of Queen Anne, in obedience to a proclamation of the Privy Council of Scotland.

JOHN STUART.

ABERDEEN, 8th August, 1844



## Appendix to the Preface.

[A List of the priests and adherents of the Church of Rome, in the northern districts, drawn up at the commencement of the reign of Charles I. is printed in the second volume of the Miscellany of the Club, p. liv.]

*A List of Apostats, Popish Priests, Papists, and thair Children, with their circumstances, and their nearest Protestant relations, within the United Parishes of Glenmuick, Tullich, and Glengarden, lying within the Presbytery of Kincarden O'neil, and Sherifffdom of Aberdene; presented to the Presbytery of Kincarden foresaid, upon the 10 of May, 1704, by Mr. James Robertsons, Minister at the said three United Kirks, and subscribed by him.*

### IN THE PARISH OF GLENGARDEN.

Calam Griersons, alias McGrigor, of Baladar, papist, frequently receives popish priests, such as Mr. Robert Seaton, brother to [ ] Seatone, of Garleton, who has these seven years been parish priest there; Mr. John Innes, jesuite; Mr. Ramsay, alias Strachane, son to Sir James Strachane, leat incumbent, now intruder, at Keith; [ ] Gordon, seminary priest; and [ ] Innes, brother to Charles Innes, of Drumgask, jesuite.

The said Calam was leatly building a chapel for them, erected a very high crucifix on a little hill near to his house, to be adored by all the nighbourhood. He keeps always publick mass and popish conventickles in his house; and is such trafacter that few or no protestants that become his tenants, or servants, escape without being perverted by him. Witnesses — Mr. Arthurd Farquharsons of Cults; Finley Farquharson of Cults, younger; Anna Lieth, wife to the said Finley; Alexander Keir, in Ardach; Mr. George Irwine, student in Divinity, in Aberdeen; and Gilbert Liesk, indweller there; and John McPhersons, present servant to the said Calam.

The said Calam Griersons is a common mocker of God and religion, v. g.: — In September,

1701, at Alanchoch, at a publick marriage feast, before a great many people, after he had first ridiculed the protestant religion, he next went to his knees, and with a loud voice uttered a deal of horrid blasphemie, pretending to personate protestant ministers in their prayers, and then fell a preaching, to the great astonishment of the beholders. Witnesses — John Farquharson of Alanchoch; Duncan Shaw of Crathie Ard; Alexander Keir, in Ardach; and David Brekar, in Alanchoch.

The said Calam has four children, viz., Mr. Gri-gor, sent to Dwi Coleedge, and is shortly expected home in the quality of a seminary priest. Duncan, Calam, and Elspet yet in the familie. He is worth about 500 merks yearly of visible fortown, but that much of it is now adjudged upon decreits obtaind against him before the justiciary courts, for robing the Laird of Glen-kindie's house, and other such like barbarities. Only he makes a considerable deal of money yearly by black mail, extorted by him from several low country parishes, such as Fordon. Strachane, Fetterearn, &c., under pretence of protecting them. The nearest protestant relation to the children is Mr. Arthur Farquharson of Cults.

The following persons are all papists within the said Calam his interest, almost all apostates of his own making within the 20 years :—

Grigor McGrigor, in Balne, housbandman. Jannet Tuillor, his wife, has two children yet in his house. John and Anne. His protestant relations obscure.

Alan Durart, and Janet Forbes, his wife, has one child, called John. He is a poor man.

Alexander Keir, in Ardach, leatly guilty of a relaps unto popery, perverted his wife, Margaret Brebner.

Duncan Keir, tennant, and his wife, have two children. He's a poor man, of obscure relations.

Donald Camron, and Janet Durard, his wife, have three children. Their nearest protestant relation is John Finlay, in Blairecharast.

James Michy, and his wife, two leat apostats.

John Durart, in Mullach, and Anne Keir, his wife, and [ ] his son.

Alexander McDowgal, and his wife, have three children : a husbandman, his nearest protestant relations is James McDougal, in Morvind. Patrick Durart and Beatrix Durart, William Catenach.

Alexander Grierson, alias McGrigor, of Baladar, younger, perverted his wife, Margaret Camron, by threatnings and other wicked means, is leatly put in fiff of his father's estate. He has one child, an infant ; is a trafecting papist. Witnesses—Patrick and Calam McGrigors, in Taminturn, whom he frequently endeavored to pervert, having leatly made John McGrigor, thair father, to apostatize. His nearest protestant relation is Alan Camron, in Ronach, son to the leat tutor of Glendeash.

John Ogilvie, servant to the said Alexander ; John McGrigor, in Inveringie, and Beatrix McGrigor, his wife, have two children. He is a husbandman. His protestant relations *egnoti*.

Donald Bain, miler, and his wife, have one child, and is a poor man, and his relations as poor as himself.

All these are papists and apostats in Calam Grierson his interest, in Glengarden, being in number 48

*poor tenants. The apostats may be known by the \* mark prefix to thair names :—*

\* John McGrigor in Taminturn.

\* John McAndrew, elder, in Lairie.

\* John McAndrew, younger, his sone, a young husband-fellow, fitt for her Majestie's service.

\* William McAndrew.

\* Patrick McDougall, there.

\* Alexander Michy, in Prounie. \* Catrine McAndrew, his wife : a rich husbandman, has four children. John and Alexander, Margrat and Catrine. His nearest protestant relation is Donald Michy, in Bocharn, in the parish of Invernochtie.

John Coutts, millar, in Prounie.

Alexander Camron, in Easter Abergarn, and Elspet Freser, his wife, have three children—poor. The relations unknown.

\* Marjory Michy, wife to Charles Tause, in Abergarn, guilty of a relaps unto popirie.

These are in number 18

*In the Laird of Drum's interest in Glengarden.*

Calam Bain McGrigor, and \* Elizabeth Tause, his wife, leatly perverted by her husband. He is a housbandman, of a small stock, having been leatly obliged to pay 500 lb. of it to Alexander Gordon, of Carndall, for upon a decreet obtaind against him before the justiciary court, for assisting at the plundering of Glenkindie's house. However, he makes a considerable deal of mony yearly by black mail, payed to him by the parishes of Tullich, Aboyn, Glentamar, Coul, Tarland, &c. Witnesses—George Brown, in Tarland ; Robert Farquharson, in Kinore ; James Elmsly, in Clarag. He has two children. Their nearest protestant relation is Hary Farquharson of Whitehouse, his mother's brother. He frequently has mass, priests, and popish meetings in his house. Witnesses—James Stewart, and Calam Riehy, his servants ; John McAndrew, younger, in Laire ; John Ogilvie, in Inveringie ; and Grigor McGrigor, in Richarberie, his nighbour ; Charles Tause, in Abergarn ; and John Tause, at the Kirk of Glengarden.

George McGrigor, in Richarberie.

\* Elspet Alanach, his wife, perverted by her housband.

*A list of papists and apostats in the Earle of Aboyne's interest in Glengarden, being all*

- Alexander M'Grigor, in Toran.  
 Jeannet M'Grigor, his wife.  
 Calam M'Grigor, his son.  
 \* Alan Michy, younger.  
 \* Alexander Michy, a rich housbandman, younger,  
 turned popish because the minister did prosecute him in the ordinary way for adultrie. He and Jannet M'Grigor have three children yet in the family, viz., Alexander, Elspet, and Anne. His nearest protestant relation is Donald Michy, in Bocharn.  
 John Michy, in Toran, papist.  
 \* Jannet Michy.  
 George M'Grigor, in Tomnafiagh, who leatly perverted Elspet [                      ].  
 \* [                      ] Godsich, his wife; has yet no children.  
 \* William Peter, there, perverted \* Jannet Richy, his wife, has four children, but is a poor man.

- His nearest protestant relation is John Richy, in Tomnafiagh.  
 \* Mary Durart, Isobel Michy, Jannet Morgan three popish apostates.  
 These are in number ~~~~~ 26
- 
- \* James M'Andrew, in Rianlore, a small heritor leat apostate.  
 John Grigor, in Dalnambo, perverted \* Jannet M'Donald, his wife; he is an housbandman; has three children. Their nearest protestant relation is William M'Donald of Rianettin.  
 \* James Keir, in Strulai.  
 \* Elspet Michy, his wife, perverted by him.  
 Duncan Keir, his son.  
 Elspet M'Grigor, in Strainetin.  
 These in number ~~~~~ 16

## IN THE PARISH OF TULLICH.

*Imprimis, in Invercys interest.*

- \* James Michy, in the Muir of Tullich, a rich housbandman, has three children, John, William, and Sarah, the eldest not above fourteen years of age. His nearest zealous protestant relation is Donald Michy in Bocharn. This James Michy, by his continual receepting popish priests, and keeping mass and conventicles in his house, having built a particular chamber for their use, has given occasion to pervert almost all in the neighbourhood, particularly  
 \* Catrine Michie, his wife;  
 \* Alexander Michy, his father-in-law;  
 \* William Michy, his brother;  
 \* Jannet Michy, his mother;  
 \* James Geddes, in Baladar;  
 \* Isobel Grant, his wife;  
 \* William Michy, younger;  
 \* Elspet More, his wife; and  
 \* Catrine Christy, younger.  
 Witnesses—Andrew Young, his leat servant;  
 William Michy, in Litle Canore; Thomas Michy, in the Muire of Tullich; James Geddes, in Baladar; John Davidstone, in Cobletowne; and Alexander Farquharsone of Broughdarg.  
 \* Donald Farquharsone, of Cobletown, and \* Margaret Couts, his wife, have two children, Laurence and Jean, about sixteen years of age; he is reckoned worth about a thousand pounds

Scots of widset. His nearest protestant relation that has any zeal for the truth is John Farquharsone of Alanchioich, younger. The said Donald and his wife are great traffickers and continual recepters of priests. Witnesses who themselves were perverted by them:—

- John Corbat, in Baladar;  
 \* Margaret Keir, younger;  
 \* John Davidstone, in Cobletoun;  
 \* Jannet Keir, his wif;  
 \* Margaret Rioch—all perverted by the said Donald and his wife.

*In Tullich.*

- Angus M'Donald, a poor man; \* Jannet M'Grigor, his wife, has three children. Their nearest protestant relation is Mary Farquharsone of Whitehouse.  
 \* William Michy.  
 John M'Kenzie.  
 \* Barbara Sandisone, widow.  
 \* Margaret Sandisone.  
 These are all apostates, perverted within twenty years backward, being, young and old, in number ~~~~~ 32
- 
- \* Robert Farquharsone, of Canore, of about 2000 marks of stock, besides moveables, is, with his wife, Mary Gordon, continuall recepters of

popish priests and hearers of mass. Witnesses — John Blair, his servant; and Charles Farquharson, his brother, apostate; and John Ritch, in Tomdarach ..... 3

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*In Rianettin and Achintoul.*

John McGrigor, younger, a zealous trafeeter, having perverted the following persones, viz :—  
John McGrigor, his father.

Christian Farquharson, his mother.

\* James McGrigor, his servant.

\* Alexander McGrigor.

\* Marjory Catinach, his wife.

\* John Catinach, in Achintoul.

\* Isobell Ritchie, his wife.

\* Donald Catinach, his son.

\* Elspet Catinach, his daughter.

The said John McGrigor likewayes receptes priests, and has requently mass in his house,

as the above written persones, *socii criminis* can testifie.

\* Isobel Catinach, another daughter of John Catinach's.

\* Margaret McDonald, widow there.

\* Elspet Fliming, her daughter.

\* Elspet Fletcher, a servant.

All these were perverted by the said John McGrigor, younger, being in number ..... 14

He is a tall young fellow, fitt for her Majestic's service.

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*In Alanchoich's interest in Tullachnacraig.*

John Alanach, papist, leatly married irregularly by a popish priest, upon a protestant woman, whom he has since perverted, which seldom never fails to fall out when thus unequally yoked.

IN GLENMUCK PARISH.

\* William Steward, of Achoile, worth about 700 marks per year, leatly guilty of a relaps unto poperie. After he was brought up in the reformed truth, he apostatized, and lived many years a papist; then he did, about four years ago, judiecially renounce the errors of popirie, promising under his hand to adhere for the future to the protestant truth, and outwardly professed the same for nine months, and then scandalously returned to his vomite, and is now become more malicious than ever—the common practice of rinagads. He has five children, the eldest not above fourteen years of age. His nearest protestant relation is Hary Farquharsone of Whitehouse, his father-in-law. He frequently receptes popish priests; leatly baptized one of his children by them against his laidie's will; frequently go's to mass. Witnesses, who are likewise *socii criminis*, viz. :—

\* John Glass, in Achoile, and his wite.

\* Alexander Couper, there.

Hellen Grant, in Sterine.

John Michy, in Balintobir, with William Ogilvie. Alexander Davidson, and John Morice — the three last his leat servants, protestants.

John Stewart, in Balatrach, worth about 160000 marks of stock, perverted his wife, Isobel Grant. He has four children. His nearest protestant relation, John Grant, of Easter Elchies.

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Summa totius ..... 168

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This list was presented to the Presbytery of Kincardine O'niel upon the 10 of May, 1704, and subscribed by

J.A. ROBERTSONE, Minr. at the three united parishes forsaied.

Extracted out of the records of the Presbytery. and again subscribed, by

W. HOWE, Modr., *Pro Tre.*

LEWES REID, Clk., *Pro Tre.*

*Ane List of Papists within the United Parishes of Aboyne and Glentanner.  
May 29th, 1704.*

William Davidson, of Balnaeraig, and Margaret Gordon, his spouse, are and have been obstinate papists. The names of their children are as follows :— Alexander Davidson, their eldest son, come to the age of a man ; Elizabeth, their eldest daughter, about the age of fourteen ; Norman, William, and Hew, Ann, Margaret, and Janet Davidson, all within or about the age of twelve. Priests and jesuits doe abide at their house in Banderie [Bellandoire.] and have publick meetings there, as may be instructed by John Gardyne ; Francis Dinnie, his sub-tenant and servant ; John Robertson, in Waterside of Kincardine ; and James Davidson, in Carlogie. Their nearest protestant friends are John Davidson, in Balwood, and Norman Durward, merchant in Aberdeen.

John Gardyne, of Ballamore, now living in Braeline, in Glentanner, and his sister, Elizabeth Gardyne, are and have been obstinate papists. He resetts jesuits and traffiquing papists on his house, and keeps publick mass meetings. The witnesses names doe follow :— John Ley, in Braelin ; William Ley, there ; Francis Robertson, in Nether Ballastrein ; Duncan Shaw, servitor to the said John Gardyn.

Bethia Gardyne, spouse to Charles Gardyn of Ballastrein, is and hath been ane obstinate papist.

Patrick Anderson, hostler in Charlestoun, and Christian Ker, his spouse, did both of them apostatize to popery about twenty years agoe, as may be proven by Alexander Cwman, in Formestoun, and John Ley, in Miln of Dess. Their unmarried children are John and Anne. Their nearest protestant relations are Alexander Keir, gardynier in Aboyne, and John Keir, gardynier in Morphie.

Agnes Layng, spouse to Francis Steel, in Charlestoun, apostatized to popery about fifteen years ago, as may be instructed by James Harper, in

Cottertown of Dumgask, and Andrew Brown, traffieer in Aboyne.

Margaret Edward, in Charlestoun, apostatized to popery about twentie years ago, as may be instructed by James Harper, in Cottertown of Dumgask, and Andrew Brown, kirk officer in Aboyne.

Margaret Edward, in Charlestoun, apostatized to popery about twentie yeares agoe, as may be instructed by William Ross, in Charlestoun, and Walter Thom, there.

Elizabeth Urquhart, in Tilliefoudie, is and hath been an obstinate papist.

Charles Innes, in Drumgask, and Claud Irwing, his spouse, are obstinate papists. He commonly resetts a brother of his, named Mr. Walter, who almost these twelve moneths bypast has remained avowedly and kept meetings publickly in the hall of Drumgask, and there has erected ane altar for their idolatrous service ; has perverted a servant of his, called William Anderson, within these two yeares, as may be instructed by James Harper, in Cottertown of Drumgask ; Andrew Lyall, wright there ; Andrew More, wright in Charlestoun ; William Sang, in Munhall. He has no protestant relations in this country, or that are known here.

Alexander Riddoch, in Old Town of Drumgask, are obstinate papists.

Charles Innes has these following children :— Jean and Elizabeth, come to the age of women ; Lewis, James, Henretta, and Claudia, all about or within the age of twelve.

Kincardine O'Neill, May 10th, 1700 and four year, the whilk day the Presbytery appointed the above list to be sent to the Clerk of the Commission of the General Assembly, signed. in name of the Presbtery, by me,

JE. HOWE, Modr., *Pro Tre.*

LEWES REID, Ck., *Pro Tre*





Robert Duff in Hillockhead, taxman and labourer within the Daach of Invermarkie.

Jean Anderson, relict to the deceist James Gordon, commonly designed Tillisoul, living in the Place of Beldornie.

Muriell Gordon, laifull daughter to the deceist James Gordon of Tillisoul, living with her mother in the said House of Beldornie.

Janet Gordon, servitrix to the said Jean Anderson, in Beldornie.

Margaret Talzior, a cottar woman, living in the Coat-town of Beldornie.

The number of papists in Glass is            10

And that this is the full and true list or account of all the papists living within the parish of Glass for the tyme, is further attested att Glass, the eight of May, and year foresaid, by the subscription of

*Sic subr.* AL. ALEXANDER,  
Minr. at Glass.

### *List of the Papists in the Parish of Bellie.*

In a return of the papists in the parish of Bellie, in 1704, we find that they amounted to about 362 persons. The following is added by the clergyman :—*Nota.* These are all adult papists for the most part, and there are many more below seven years of age, that I have not reckoned up. *Nota 2do.* That their be mass said, *1mo.* in Gordon Castell; *2do.* in John Lobban, in Tulloch, his hous; *3tio.* in the Laird of Tynet, his hous.

The papists at Gordon Castle are :—

The Duke of Gordon.

The Earle of Huntly.

Madam Paul, \* Mrs Bernard, house-keepers.

Robert Simple, George Gordon of Sneltonne, gentlemen.

William Gordon, James Elmsly, grooms.

\* James Sheen, cooke.

\* John Edward, \* John Hay, footmen.

### *List of the Papists in the Parish of Logyburne.*

Patrick, Count Leslie, his lady and children.

Francis Grant.

James Pantoun.

Elizabeth and Anna Fordices.

John Bell.

William Lesly.

Mr. John Lesly.

Mary Sweyp.

William Runsheman

John Fordyce.

Jean Davidson.

Elizabeth Douglass.

Charles Lesly.

Alexander Lesly of Pitcaple, his lady and children.

Margaret Group.

Janet Luckie.

Violet Lesly.

### *List of the Papists in the Parish of Inch.*

John Tyrie, younger, of Dunnideer.

Margaret Tulloch, his spouse.

Anna Menzies.

John, David, and James Tyries.

Anna, Margaret, and Bettie Tyries.

George Gordon, and Elspet Tyrie, his spouse

*List of Papists in the Parish of Ellon.*

Alexander Gordon of Coldwalls.

Jean and Mary Gordon, his sisters.

Christian Gordon, their mother.

Mr. James Clerk, son to James Clerk, at Mill of  
Esslemont.

Mary Gordon, spouse to James Gordon, in Manns  
of Esslemont.

Isobel Black, in Drumquhyndle.

Agnes Ogilvie in Cairnmucks.

*List of Papists in the Parish of Forgue.*

Alexander Lesly of Boynsmilne.

Captain Thomas Seton in Balgaveny.

Alexander Finn of Corsc of Monellie

Alexander Stuart of Lessmurdie.

Lues Crichton of Conland.

Thomas Farquharson in Cowbardie.



## THE ARGUMENT.



# THE ARGUMENT.

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A BREIFFE NARRATION  
OF  
THE SERVICES DONE TO THREE NOBLE LADYES.  
BY  
GILBERT BLAKHAL.

DEDICATED TO  
MADAME DE GORDON,  
ONE OF THE FORSAID THREE, AND NOW DAME D'ATTOUR TO MADAME.





THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE,  
TO MADAME DE GORDON.



MADAME,

HAVE judg'd it necessaire to tak the paines to wreat this short treatise, to show you the services that I have rendred to some of your nerest kinred; and first of al. to your noble and verteous aunte, of good memory. Ladye Isabelle Hay, daughter to the much but never anough renowned Francis Earle of Errolle, and Constable of Scotland; next, to my most noble and truly devote ladye, of blessed memory, your owne mother; and, thirdly, to your selfe. If theis services have beene good or badde, I wil not be the judge, but only relate breiffly what I have done, and leave the judgment to the discretion of the prudent reader, unto whose censure I wil humbly acquiesce.

Thinking with myself to whom I could most conveniently offer this smal labour, I did not find any now living who can pretend so great right unto it as your owne selfe. First, because the greatest and most difficile actions mentioned in it do reguarde you, and were taken for your profite, both spirituel and temporel. Secondly, be-

cause you seame not to know that ever I did you any services at all, or to undervalue them very much. Wherfor, Madame, I humbly entreat you to bestow two or three houres of the tym that you would spend in your recreation, upon the reading of this narration, which, if you read it with attention, will discover unto you some considerable things, upon which you have assuredly made but very litle or no reflection at al; which, if they be wel considered, wil I hope dispose your mynd otherwayes toward me then it is at the present, and that is the but that I do aim at in al this treatie; as being,

MADAME,

Your Ladyship's most humble and  
best affectionat serviteur.

G. BLAKHAL.





# A Breiffe Narration

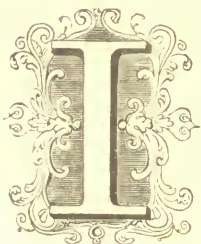
OF

THE SERVICES DONE TO THREE NOBLE LADYES.

BY

GILBERT BLAKHAL, PREIST OF THE SCOTS MISSION.

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IN this narration I do intend to speak only of such, aither persons or actions, as have so necessare connexion with the services mentioned heirin, as that the one cannot be sufficiently expressed without some breif discours of the other. And, because the order of tym doth requyr that I speak first of Ladye Isabelle Hay, who was the first ladye that I did serve, and the service rendred to her did as it were conduck or lead me to the service of her sister, and both the two engage me in the service of the third, daughter of the one, and niece of the other, I wil relate the services done to each of them according to the tym wherin the actions were done ; and, therfor, the first chapter shall be

Of Ladye Isabelle Hay, daughter to Francis Hay, Earle of Errolle, and Meritable Constable of Scotland.

CAP. I.



LADYE Isabelle Hay was the fyft daughter of Francis Earle of Errolle, and of Dame Elizabeth Douglas, his wyffe. She did come out of Scotland to France, with the permission of her father, her mother havinge depaired from this lyffe some eight or nynne yeares before. She was recommended by her father to Mr. James Forbes, who was then living in France, in good reputation both in France and Scotland. He was to advance her moneys, in

France, as she should requyr them, to be payed to him in Scotland, at the banckiers rate, sixscore for the hundreth. The first paragraph shall contean

### § 1. The Services done to her in France.

She did tak land in France, at Diepe, about the midst of October, in the yeare of God 1630, and did remain ther a whol yeare and a half; and, in the month of June, 1631, Maister Forbes did bring her to Paris, and loged her in the Cloiter of Saint Jean de Latran, and, I being his cousin, did engage me to be her confesseur, which he did repent thereafter. For he inportuning her to much with his frequent and untymous visites, she prayed me to admonish him, being loath to offend him herselfe, which I did very myldly, but seriously. He did tak it very harshly, and therupon we did brawle in the great court of Saint Jean, and, if it had not been for her sake, we had come from wordes to blowes; but I did endure much of him, to hinder the people to think that it was for her that we quarrelled. Whairupon he did tak her away from Paris to Diepe againe, to have the full disposition of her, which he could not get in Paris, because she receaved and embraced more willingly my advyses than his, perceiving that he aimed at his owne utilitie and I at her honor, which I resolved to mantean against whosoever. To speak cleerly, his design was to induce her to marye him, which I opposed by al the meanes that I could.

When he had convoyed her to Diepe, she loged in the Laird of Belgonie his house, paying her pension ther; and he pretended to be pensionier ther with her, but she opposed it, and tould him that she would no more suffer his frequent visites to her owne prejudice, for she had her honor to look unto, which was more deare unto her than his frindshippe, or al the frinds in the world. Wherupon he did enter in a furie, and said that Father Blakhal had putten her in that good humeur. He did, said she, and what have you to say against him for it? He is an honest man, and I wil ever prefer his counsel to yours. Theis wordes augmented his furye, and, raging for anger, he went out of her chamber, and the next day did tak jorney for Paris, unbidding God be with her.

When he came to Paris, he did vent his colerick passion against her, blasting out very disdainful wordes, which he spoke to Mr. George Pope, one of the Garde de Manche, and prayed him to be secret, and never speake them to any bodye. This he did to make them be the more divulged.

For he did know wel aneugh that Mr. Pope could not kepe a secret ; and the ladye and I both had heard him say that if he had designe to publish any thing he would tell it to Mr. Pope under seecrecie, and then it would assuredly be communicated to every man that he did know, with that same bonde of seecrecie. This procciding of his did anger both the ladye and me, for it did show that maliciously he intended to wrong her, but he could not, as shal appear heirafter. Mr. Pope having revilled his secret to all the Scotsmen then in Paris, at last he tould it to me, praying me to keepe it secret. I did dissemble my anger, saying only that Mr. Forbes was a foole in saying such wordes ; which made him think that I neglected them, and would not advertyse her of them. But that was farre from my mynd. For so soon as I did take my leave of him, I did wreat to her al that I had heard, and prayed her to come to Paris, and challenge him for saying them, and so justifie herselfe, because otherwayes she would suffer in her reputation. When she had redde my letter, she did throw it in the fyre, and fell a crying. I confess my letter was very satyrick, as, at our meeting, she tould me that she never would have belived, if she had not seime it, that I could have bein so bitter, aither in worde or wreat, as that letter was.

When she did come to Paris, she brought with her Father Duncan and Allexander Davidson. Father Duncan came upon the morrow after she arrived, and tould me. I did go to her loging, and, after some general discours, she asked me, in privat, if I would mantean befor Mr. Forbes what I had wreaten to her of him. I answered that I would indeed, and bid her show him my letter. Then she said, Faire fal your hart, Father, that never feared no man ; and said to me that divers others had told her that same thing, but would not manteane it before Mr. Forbes, fearing to encore his feade ; protesting that they did indead tel her for her owne wel, that she might mak her benefit therof, but would not mak ennemyes to themselves, and, therfor, would denye their owne wordes, if she would name them for authors. She answered that she would not name them (but that she was the lesse obliged to them), because she was confident that she had one trustie freind, who would never abandon her, nor denye his owne words for fead or favour of any man.

As I did go out from her, a litle from her loging, I did mete Mr. Pope, and brought him to her, and made him stay at the gate until I should go and sie if she had any company. I did know wel aneugh that she had non

but Father Duncan and Allexander Davidson, whom I caused go into the cabinet, and let not Mr. Pope sic them; because I am, said I, bringing him in to tell Ladye Isabelle the wordes which Mr. Forbes tould him in secret, and if he sic any bodye with her he wil think that I am leading him into a snare, and wil not speak of that purpose. They did as I desired, and the tapisterie conuered the dore, as if ther had bein no dore ther. I did go down spedilye, fearing that he would go away if I made any stay, for I had drawne him their against his wil; and, finding him yet their, I did bring him up to her chamber, and (as I had disposed) she received him very civilly. Then, after the general compliments of asking the state of each one anothers health, I did beginne the particular discours, saying, Mr. Pope, your father was a faithful servant of this noble ladyes honorable familye, as you know yourself; and she doth expect as much courtesie of you, whom she esteameth her real frind. Then he made great protestations of true frindshippe, accompanied with many offers of his duetiful service. At which wordes I interrupted his compliments, saying that my frind, if he be true, is another myselfe, and is obliged to communicat unto me whatsoever he knoweth, good or evil, that doth concerne me. Al that is true, said he. Then good Mr. Pope, said I, you wil I hope performe that part of real frindship toward this noble ladye, telling her the same wordes which were said to you concerning her, and which you tould me, knowing me to be her faithful servant, and consequently obliged to give her notice of what I learne concerning her; and therefor I have tould her what I learned from you that Mr. Forbes said of her to you, and she desireth to hear them from your owne mouth; not that she wil make use of your name therin, or chalenge Mr. Forbes for speaking them, but only make her owne benefeit of her knowlege; for, as you know, she is not a woman that wil braule, or chasse talles which he said and she said, like harengers in the fish market.

He was very much surprised hearing me speak so, but having given him assurance no to mak any brawling for theis wordes, he requyring again that she would not give him for author, seing Mr. Forbes had spokken them to others as wel as to him, he did beginne his discourse, saying, Indeed, Madame, I know not what you have done to Mr. Forbes, but he is very much commoved against you, and sayth that he wil mak you repent your hauty carriag towards him, who hath bein so good a frind to you, of whom he hath powar to dispose as it shal please him, and make you marie,

if he wil, or mak you religieuse, if it do please him, and that if you had once spent the moneys that he hath lent to you, he shal mak you sitte doune upon your knees, and kisse his bare breache before you get any more from him. Theis, Madame, are his owne wordes. So, after that she had thanked him for being so free with her, he did tak his leave and went away. And because this paragraph is already too long, I wil, in the next, show

§ 2. Her rencontre with Mr. Forbes, and her going to Provin.

Maister Forbes, standing upon his points of honor, delayed to go to her, expecting that she would send for him, which was farre from her mynd. At last, seing his expectation vain, he did go to her, and, entring in her chamber, said, I know not if I be welcome, Madame, but, howsoever, I have taken the bouldnes to come. You are not, said she; and bot too bould to come to any place wher you know I am, haveing spooken of me so impertinently as you have done. No man, said he, dare say in my face that I have said any thing but good of you. Did you not say, said she, that I was so subject to your disposition, that you could mak me do whar you would, yea, be religieuse if it pleased you, or marye, if you would? Doutles you meaned with yourself; but the world is not so destitut of noblemen, that I nede to caste myselfe away upon you, or any such as you. And did you not say that you would make me come, kneeling on my knees, and kisse your stinking breache, for to get moneys from you? Were al theis wordes fitte to have bein said of a woman of my quality, or could they proceed from any other mouthe then from the unworthye lippes of a base detractor?

He, al in fyre, said that he never had spooken such words. And she said, you did speak them, as bassely as you now deny them. No man, said he, darre say, in my presence, that ever I did say them. Yes, said she, I wil find one who wil mantean in your face that you said them. Then he swered a great oath, that he would ryve the bearde from any man who so ever durst say that in his face. You ryve his beard, said she; he will tak you sooner by the beard than you can tak him, and wil put his foot above your neck. You meane Father Blakhal, said he. Yes, I do, said she; he tould me, and wil manteane it in your face. Accuse him, if you darre. If he were not a priest, said he, I vowe I should cutte his throtte. You cuted his throtte, said she; you may thank your God that he is a preist, otherwayes he had cutted yours or now, as you wel deserve it. Indead, he stayed no longer, but did



runne out, as if the house had been burning about his cares, unbidding her adieu; and they never again did sie one another, nor never had any correspondence. She stayed in Paris some three weekes after that, until Mr. Pendrich, then Superieur of the Scots College, had agreed for her pension, with her servant, in a monastery beside Provin, of the ordre of St. Francis, wher she stayed a whole yeare. Fathier Duncan, yet living, doth know this story wel, and Mr. Letus may remember something of it, he being then a scoller in the Scots College, for it was very publick among the Scots then in Paris; for, if it had not bein so, I would never have spooken of it heir, which I now do, to show that she did carie herselfe therin as a wyse and discreet ladye, such as indeed she was.

§ 3. A Stratagem, invented by Mr. Pendrich and Mr. Forbes.  
to justifie Mr. Forbes.

I expected that Mr. Forbes should have accused me for telling her theise things; but, instead of challenging me, Mr. Pendrich and he, laying their heades together, invented another way to be revenged (as they fondly believed) of me, and it was this: They resolved to mak Mr. Pope declare, before witnes, that he had never said any such wordes to me of Mr. Forbes, and that I had falsly invented them myself, for to put discord betwixt the ladye and him, which, in despeyt my hart, behoved to cease, and they be againe reconciled more tenderly then ever they had bein, if I were convinced to be a lyer. The place wher Mr. Pope and I should mete, and the witnes also, were chosen by them, I knowing nothing therof. The occasion did offer itself to them thus:

Father Thomas Mackferson, a preist of the Oratorie, who called himself Persons, was recovering out of a long seiknes. He did lye in the house of a Scotsman, named Androw Grant, nere to St. Magloir. I did go oft tymes to visit him, and they did tak the occasion of my going so frequently to him, to mak Mr. Pope come lykwyse to visit him when I should be ther, and, in presence of Father Persons, to accuse me for giveing out in his name lyes against Mr. Forbes, which I myselfe had maliciously invented to calunniat Mr. Forbes, and mak him and Mr. Forbes, who before were good freinds, mortal ennemyes; and, after that he had susteained this in my face, Mr. Pendrich should come to mak a visit to Father Persons, who, as a very credible witnes, should testify, under his owne hand. that he had

bein ear witnes to the debait betwixt Mr. Pope and me, about some wordes that I had alleged that Mr. Forbes should have spooken of Ladye Isabel Hay to Mr. Pope, which he reported to me, and I had given Mr. Pope for my author.

I do remember yet very wel, althought it was wel threttie and four yeares ago, our disput was upon a Monday, betwixt eight and nyne houres in the morning. The laird of Craig Gordon and his ladye were loged then in the great rue of St. Jacques Faubourg, at the signe of the golden fleure de lys, forder out then St. Magloir, on the other syd of the streat. I did go first to visit the Laird of Craig, and I did find Mr. Forbes with him and his ladye, who did ryse up and tak me to another place in that same rounge, and enterteane me until Mr. Forbes went away; and then her husband did come to me, and, after some general discours, did ask me if I had sein Father Persons that morning? I said I had not, and was indifferent to sie him that day or not. Then, said he, I wil tel you why I did ask if you had sein him, and with al put you upon your gard, for Mr. Forbes and Mr. Pendrich ar mynded to put an affront upon you. I defye them, said I, but I pray you what way do they think to do it? They are waiting, said he, until you visit Father Persons, and when you shal be ther, they wil send Mr. Pope in to you, to deny before Father Persons that he did ever speak such wordes to you concerning Mr. Forbes as you did report to Ladye Isabel Hay that he should have told you, and Father Persons should bear him witnes that he hath convinced you to be the inventer of them yourselfe; and conclude that Mr. Forbes did never speak such wordes to him, nor he to you, and, therfor, that you have maliciously calumniated both him and Mr. Forbes. And then Mr. Pendrich should come and receav Father Persons declaration heirupon, and send it to Provin, to Ladye Isabel Hay, with a letter from himself, to persuad her to belive that Mr. Forbes is innocent, and hath bein unjustly wronged; and, therfor, she is bound in conscience to make satisfaction to him for beliving so rashly calunnies made against his honor, which is dearer to him then his lyf; yet, if she do but acknowledge to have bein too credolous, he shall forgive her, and go ther to reconciliat with her, and be her frind as much, yea more, then ever he had bein befor. This should be the substance of Mr. Pendrich his letter unto her, as he hath tould me himself, and asked me what I thought of the motion. I answered, said he, that all that dependeth of the debate betwixt Father Blakhal

and Mr. Pope. Nay, said Mr. Pendrich, I dout not but Mr. Pope wil get the victory, for he wil deny as boldly as any man, and hath promised to be very resolut. Yes, said Craig, but Father Blakhall wil not be easilye borne downe. Nay, said Mr. Pendrich, downe he shal go, in despyt of his hart; we shall not be so affronted by him. Wel, said Craig, you wil sie the event thereof; I am only affrayed that such prociding make more noise than were necessaire. I have nothing to do with the busines, nor wil I meddle therin; you ar my friends al, and I wish you al wel. Yes, said Pendrich, we shal now ather winne the hors, or tynne the saddle. So they left the discours therupon.

When Craig had tould me this, I thanked him for his so frindly advertisment, and said I was indead indifferent to sie Father Persons this day or not, but, since they have such a designe, I wil go presently to his chamber, and expect them there a whole houre at least; you wil hear the event afterward. I will not returne to you again this day, to evit giving them occasion to suspect that you have advertissed me. You shall do wel, said he; for although I fear no mans feede in a juste cause, yet I desire not to mak to myself unnecessary ennemyes. So I did tak my leave of him, and went streight to Father Persons chamber, and did find ther Mr. Forbes sitting by his bedsyd, who did rise, saing, now, Father, I wil leave you with better company. So I satte downe in his place, and he went away. I had not bein with him two misereres, when Mr. Pope did come in, and in a frindly way did sit downe besyde us. I thought it strang to sie a man salut me civilly who was come there to prove me a calumniator, yet I thought it best to let him begin the challenge, if he had anything to say to me; for I had nothing to lay to his charge, being come ther not to challenge ony man, but only to defend myself, if I should be attacked, and I would not appear to know anything of their designe. So, after some litle discours, Mr. Pope did beginne the challenge thus:

§ 4. How Mr. Pope first denied, and afterwards confessed  
his owne wordes.

We have now, said he, begunne the holy week, the fittest tym of al the whole yeare for devotion, in which al good christians are reconciled both with God, and with their neighbours; and I thought to have done my devotion at this tym, in the best maner that I could, but I am hindered of



that christian duety by some who should have fordered me to it, if I had bein myself too slow therin. This is you, Father Blakhal, who, according to your vocation, should have been a promouuer of devotion, and a maker of peace among enemyes; but, contrary to your duetye, you have putten such enninity betwixt Mr. Forbes and me, through the lyes and devilish calumnyes that you have invented against him, that we are lyk to cut on anothers throttes when we mete, because you have given me for the author of al those lyes made upon him, wherof you know yourself (if you wil but tell the truth) that I am as innocent as the child in the wombe of its mother. Wherefor, I pray you heir to declare the truth, and, before Father Persons, justifie me who never wronged you, nor would ever have expected from you any such uncharitable dealing, as to mak that gentleman, who hath been my best frind since ever I had the honour to be acquainted with him, become now my most deadly foe, for no other cause but for your giving me for the author of the abominable lyes that you have made against him. And now, before Father Persons heir, who is a reverend preist, I tak God to witness, who must judge us all at the last day, that I never did hear Mr. Forbes speak theis base wordes, nather did I speak them to you or any other man. And, having said this, he did ryse up to go away. But I did tak him by the shoulder, and pushed him drowne again upon his cheere, saying: No, the devil cute your feete away, sir, if you winne away so. I did heare you, sir, very patiently, wrong me, and manswere your own self; and, therefore, sir nil you, wil you, I wil make you hear me justify my own self, and prove you mensworne. And, having said this, I went and boulded the dore, saying, ther shal non go out nor come in until we have on bout together; and then I said, I see, sir, you have taken my office and played the preist, therefor, I wil tak yours upon me and play the souldier; and, to beginne at your noble titles, I say, sir, you are a baise rascal and a mensworne couard. Feare hath made the menswear thyself before this sick man, to whom thou tould thes same words befor ever thou did tel them to me; he is heir present, and I know that if he were put to it, he would not hold up his hand before a judge and say that thou never did tel him these things. Thou basse poltron, thou wilt cut throts with a man, for feare of whom thou hast mensworne thyself. Dost thou think that if I should let the away so after thy denyel of ever speaking theis words, that he would belive this? Nay, he would only know thy coyonnerie the more, and think the not only a coyon.

but a mensworne coyon. Thou cut throts with him! Thou durst not cut the throte of a mouse if she would but only turn her head toward the. Indead the King of France is no lesse than wel guarded when he hath the at his elbow! Thou thinks thou nedest not feare me so much as Mr. Forbes, who beareth a sworde, and I non; and therefore thou hast mensworne thyself to please him, with great injurys to me. Deceive not thyself, for I can make a battone do thy turne. Doest thou know wherefor Mr. Forbes did tel these things rather to the than to any other man? If thou doest not know, I wil tel the. For two reasons: first, because thou canst keep no secret, and, therefor, he tould the as a secret the things that he would have published; secondly, becaus he knew that thou art basse anouch to deny them. If he should come to be accused for the saying them, he could easily make a voile of thy basnes to cover himself, as now he hath done; for he, putting the words only in thy mouth immediatly, and by the putting them in every mans mouth, to whom he knew that thou would tel them, no man can give him for the author of them, he having spooken them to no man\*bot to the, who, as he knoweth wel, darrs not say in his face that he speak them to the, for feare of his feed, which any other man, except thou, would not fear to mantean against his nose. Doest thou now, at last, see how he hath abused the, and last making the deny thy own wordes mor then first.

Moreover, dost thou think that thy menswearing thyself in denying these words shal make me passe for an calumniator and malicious lyer? Nay, I have a good salve for that sore. How soon I go out of this chamber, I will bring in a commissair, and cause him tak information of the slanderous wordes that you have said of me, and to me, before Father Persons, who, I hope, will not menswear himself for good or favour of any of us. Then I wil send the an assignation to compeer before the judge, to see and hear thyself condemned to prove me to be such a man, or to mak me reparation of honor. Thou shalt not be able to prove me such a man; for, if thou deny before the judge that thou spock theis words to me, I wil send assignations to all the Scotsmen in Paris to come and declare befor the judge whether or not thou didst tel theis same things to every one of them in particular. Dost thou think that my Lord Gray, the Laird of Cromarty, the Laird of Craig, Captain Mure, Mr. Annan, Mr. Davidson, medicin, Mr. Bethune, banquier, and Mr. Pendrich, will al menswear themselves for the or me? Or wilt thou be beleived if thou say that al

theis men ar lyers, and have invented these things themselves? Why, then, should thou be beleived saying that I have invented them? Or how wil it be credible that I should be so just a lyer as to invent the self same wordes (and nather mor nor lesse) that thou spoek to all the others? Certainly every judge will say that thou hast tould them unto me also, as wel as to al the rest, otherwise I could never have lighted so just upon the same wordes.

But I can not marvel aneugh to sie Mr. Forbes, who hath such a pregnant wit, so much blinded as to belive that thy basse denial of thyn owne wordes can persuad the ladye to belive that he never spoek those wordes to the, nor thou to me, and so tak me to be the inventer of them, which is impossible for her to doe, since she heared them out of thyn owne mouth, and did give very attentive care unto them. Then Pope brock silence, and, crying out, said, it was you, sir, that put that trick upon me to tak me to her chamber, under the pretence of a civil visit to offer my respects unto her ladyship, and ther you brought in the discours, and deceitfully tould me that I was bound in honor to adverteis her of whatsoever I did know prejudicialle unto her; and so, abusing my simplicitie, intysed me to tel her the whole mater, under her promise that she should not reveil that I had tould her, which she hath not kepted, nor you nather. Ther, I interrupted him, and said, no, sir, cheange your termes, I pray you, and say prudently for deceitfully, for I did not intyse you, but show you that, professing yourself to be her frind (as your father befor you had been a trusty frind and servant to hers), you were obliged in honor to discover unto her whatsoever you did know done or said to her prejudice. Now, sir, if I had not mad you declare unto her owne self al that you said to me, in what casse would I be now, who had no witness to prove that you tould me theise things? But, knowing you base aneugh to deny them, I prudently ingaged you to tel them to herself, whereby I did deliver myself from al suspicion of calumniating Mr. Forbes or you; and if you would redouble your bassness to deny lykwyse that you tould them to her, I have two more then sufficient witnesses, to wit, Father Duncan and Alexander Davidson, both who were in her cabinet, and the dore open, and only the tapisterie betwixt you and them, and did heare every worde that did passe amongst us. I can produce them witness against you. And, to conclud, if you do not heir avouch the verity befor you go out of this roome, I shal put the to the

greatest infamie that ever a Scotsman suffered in France, and mak the be shamefully chassed out of the Gard de Manch as a notorious pultron. Let Mr. Forbes put the in again if he can.

Seeing himself so pressed with witnes that heared him tel it to the ladye herself (which was the accomplishment of al, and the very cutte throtte of the reconciliation that Mr. Pendrich intended to mak betwixt the ladye and Mr. Forbes), he confessed netly that indead he had tould me theis things, but as to his frind, whom he persuaded himself would not revel him, and that because I had reveled him, he thought he might, with good conscience, deny that ever he spoek them, specially since ther were no witnes to prouve the contrary. I answered that I had not reveled him to any other but only to the ladye whom it did concerne; and that if he had not tould theis things but only to me, I would never have spooken of them not to herself; but, seeing that he filled the eares of al our countrymen, both in Paris and Dieppe, of those basse discourses, I could not doe lesse than advertise her to challenge the detractor, whairby his fault and her innocency might be known; and she, challenging Mr. Forbes, did not give you but me for her author. and bid him accuse me, if he durst, for the telling her, which he never did, so that I had no wayes occasion to give you for my author to him; wherfor he, knowing that he spoek these things only to you, might easely conclud that you had tould them to me. Now, to make an end of this dispute, you have confessed over again that you did tel theis things both to that ladye and to me. Yes, said he, but under the seeret of confession to you both, and upon your promisses that I should not suffer prejudice therby. Nay, said I, if you generously avouch the telling us, you will receive honor and no damage therby, for it is honorable to contribut to the defence of ladyes. But, in the meantime, said he, you have made Mr. Forbes and me mortal ennemyes. Care not for that, said I, for Mr. Forbes loves moneyes better than blood, and wil not lose the litle meanes that he hath for cutting your throtte; nather is he so angrie as he would appeare to be, for his intention in telling these things was to have them published, to hinder that ladye from any better fortune than himself. Tel him that I have made the glosse upon his wordes; I am not affrayed that he chalenge me for it, because he knoweth it to be true.

As we sindered, Mr. Pope went home, and I stayed with Father Persons, who tould me then how Mr. Forbes and Mr. Pendrich had contrived that project to mak Mr. Pope come to his chamber when I should be

ther, and befor him deny that ever he had spooken to me such things of Mr. Forbes, and therfor I behoved to have invented them myself, and that he, to wit, Father Persons, should give an attestation, under his hand, of this his denial; and that consequently I had been convinced to have calumniated Mr. Forbes. Then sir, said I, you wil I hope give it of what hath passed betwixt us in your presence. Sir, said he, I am bound to beare you witnes that at first he denyed to have spooken thes wordes to you, and therafter you constrained him, with convincing reasons, to confess that he had tould them first to you privatly, and therafter, by your persuasion, to the lady herself, befor witnes; and I know they wil requyr no such attestation from me, and I can give them no other. I approved therof, and did tak my leave, thinking myself not much obliged unto him, who did not advertise me beforhand of their designe. This was the first bolt that they shot at me, in vaine, and returned upon themselves, to their discredit. Mr. Forbes and Mr. Annan, his cousin and myn, but nerer mine then his, did shoote another afterwards, no lesse dangerous, but more hurtful in the end to themselves, and nothing damageable to me, wherof I wil speak in its owne place.

Mr. Forbes did returne to Father Persons, after I was gone from him, to learne what Mr. Pope had concluded against me; and when Father Persons tould him how he had at first denyed al, and how at last I had mad him confesse al, he answered, that certainly Mr. Pope had never said these things, but, being a timorus fellow and I a bold fellow, had mad him confesse that which he had never said. To which Father Persons replyed, he not only confessed that he had said these things to him, but also that, at the persuasion of Father Blakhal, he had tould these same things to the lady herself, when Father Duncan and Alexander Davidson were in her cabinet, and heard all. At which, in rage, he crying said, then al is losed, women can never forgive; and saying that, runne to the dore, and away he gote. Father Persons tould me therafter, and bidde me be upon my guard, for if he or Mr. Pendrich could ever do me a mischeafe, they would not faile to do it. I said, I dout not of their good wil, but I defye them. So their desein of reconciliation, by preving me a fals lyer and malicious calumniator, vanished away ther; and Mr. Pendrich said to the Laird of Craig that I had shown more subtlety therin then he thought had ever been in my braines; for if he had not made Pope tel to the lady herself, we should have borne him downe, but now, having heard



it from Pope himself, she wil not belive any thing to the contrarie. And so I got rest, until I did tak her to Brusselle, to the Infanta, of happy memory, which was about the Martin Messe following, although at the tym they had spyas upon my actions, wherof I was not ignorant.

I belive her brother, the Earl of Errolle, had gotten some notice of the pretension that Mr. Forbes had upon her, which he did not hydde, and therfor did wreat to her to return home againe, if she could not be religiousse, and sent her moneyes to mak her voyage; with certification, that if she did not returne, he haveing provyded an honorable match for her ther, he would never send her any more. This resolution of his did truble her very much, for she resolved not to go home to marye a Protestant, and, on the other syd, did not know how to subsist abroad, which made her cal al her wittes together, to try what course she should or rather could tak to live abroad; and finding non so fitte as to make her refuge unto the Infanta of Spaine, Isabella Clara Eugenia, Princess of the Low Countries, much renowned for her charity no lesse then for her wysdome, and other vertues, which mad her to be heighly respected by al princes and potentats, both farre and nere, and the object of all peoples love, and their seurest asile in their extreme necessities, she resolved to cast her ancre in that heaven, wher many did find comfort and lyf who could not elswer have avoided shipwrake; which was as favourable, yea more unto her as it had ever bein to any, as shal appeare in paragraphs following.

#### § 5. Of my Voyage to Brusselle, and what I did ther for her with the Infanta.

Befor the ladye did go to the monasterie at Provin, she tould me the resolution that her brother had taken to marye her at home, and that, if she would not returne home, he would not send her money to subsist abroad; wherupon I counselled her to obey his ordre, since her father being deceased, and her portion that he had stated upon her in her brother's hand, he was to her in place both of father and brother, and her mother being departed this lyff nynne or tenne yeares before her father, so that she had non to relay upon but him; wherfor I thought that she should do wel to let herself be governed by him. I was the mor bent to her going home, becaus I feared her reconciliation with Mr. Forbes, whairby she would have bein in greater danger than befor; but her resolut answer was, that she

would not go home. Then I enquired, what way she thought to subsist in France? She answered, that if she could do no better, she and her servant would rather earne their bread with their nedles then expose her soul to danger, which she did and ever would prefer to al earthly things, which she was morally assured would follow if she should mary a heretick husband, and she did not know any Catholick fitte for her then in Scotland. When I heard her say so, I said I would not urge her any more, but would pray God to dispose of her to his own glorie and her salvation; and that, if I could be serviable to her in any thing, she might dispose of me. This offer of my service did not fal to the ground, for she mad use of it therafter.

When she was in the monasterie, we kepted correspondence by letters, and, although it was far from Paris, whair I lived with a counseller, to wit, eighteine ligues, I did go some tymes to see her; and when she had bein ther nere half an year, she did wreat to me, showing me that she was not able to embrasse that sort of lyff; and therfor, remembring how cordially I had made offer of my services to her, she was resolved to accept of it, rather then employ others, who were indead more liberal of compliments, but would be mor sparing of their paines, and therby neglect her business, or at least draw it to a great length, which, notwithstanding, requyred great diligence, (wherin she seemed to speak prophetic, for indead it requyred mor haste then she was aware of; yea, the loss of one houre of seeing the Infanta, which she herself willingly would have deferred, would have lossed al her labour and expences,) wherof I know you wil be as much mor careful then they, as your sincer affection towards me is more fervent and real than theirs; and, to be free with you, in whom, after God. I put my greatest trust: my affair is this, if you have any acquaintance in Brusselle, I pray wreat to them, and try if I could get from the Infanta a canonicat in Mons, which, if I get not, my nedle must be my next refuge. This nedle did pearce my heart, for I loved her sincerely for her virtue, without any interest.

By good chance, the best frind that I had was then in Brussels, a French gentleman, named Mahau, Seigneur de Champagne, a village near Beaumont, who made himself a priest in the Oratory wher he and I did beginne our acquaintance; and he had a brother in law and two sisters, one maryed and the other a maid, who al three were cousines, and pensioners in the house of the counseller, Mr. Dorsay, with whom I



was then living, his ausmonier. They were the four best frinds that ever I found of French, to whom I would securely have trusted my lyff. This Monsieur de Champain, or Pere de Champain, for we called him some tymes Monsieur, some tymes Mon Pere, was then in Brusselle, procuring from the Infanta an establishment for the Fathers of the Oratorie, which they have now, but did not get it from the Infanta, but from her nephew, the Cardinal Infanta. I did wreat to this freind, the next day after I receaved her letter, wherein I prayed him to try if such a benefice could be obtained for a stranger ladye, to whom I was heighly obliged; and if so, what meanes were to be used for the compassing of that bussines? To which he gave me a speedye answer, showing me that it was a thing morally impossible for a stranger to obteane, in respect that theise benefices were so much brigued by the nobility of the contrye. There are but fyve colleges of theise chanoinesses in al the Low Countries; one in Mons, one in Maubenge, one in Andaine, one in Nivel, and one in another place whose name I can not now cal to mynd, and but thretty ladies in every college; which mak theise places to be so brigued, that one of twentie noble men can not get a canonicat for his daughter, although they persue for them befor the girle be sex yeares ould. I did send this gentlemans letter to her, with a copie of it translated in Scots, because she did not yet vestand wel the French. This letter of his, although capable to have detoured another from that dessein, was so farre from rebutting her, that she seemed to be so much the more spurred to acqyre it as it was diffiicil to be obtained, and did wreat to me by the next messenger, who did come and go to Paris twyce every week, Wednesday and Saturday; and in that letter prayed me earnestly to tak the paines to go myself to Brusselle, and try what I could do with the Infanta, to procure her a canonicat, which, if she did not obteane, she would be in a very hard condition.

I resolved immediately, upon the sight of her letter, to give her the contentment to mak the voyage, and do what I could for her advantage; but I did not know how to get away from Mr. Dorsay, who, being a priest, could nather say messe nor breviarie without the help of some priest, having past three score years befor he receaved orders. I did know that he would not suffer me to be so long tym absent as was requyred to mak that voyage and sollicitat the Infanta for her, and, therfor, I resolved to tak my leave of him for altogether, and rather losse my condition then let my service be

wanting unto her in a mater of such importance. I did communicat my descin to my three good frinds, of whom I did speak a little befor, to wit, Monsieur le Beau, and his wyff and her sister. They would not suffer me to leave him so, saying, we shal find you a better way, by which you shal keep his favor and do your bussines, and it shal be thus done: We are going very shortly to Poitou, wher you know our meanes do lye. Monsieur Dorsay and Monsieur L'Abbé du Fau wil go with us, wher we must stay three or four months for our affaires, and Monsieur Dorsay and Monsieur du Fau wil not leave us til we retorne altogether. We shal persuade Monsieur Dorsay not to tak you with him (unto which he wil be easily drawen to save expenses), but rather let you mak a tour to your owen contrie, to sie your frinds ther, and to come back against we retorne to Paris, which wil be about the St. Martin, or shortly thereafter.

This motion did please me, and was as a kind of good presage that my voyage would have good successe, becaus it did come unexpected. So I had patience until they should speak Monsieur Dorsay, which they did that same day, and so prudently, that he thanked them for their good advyce, thinking they had done it for his benefite, I not knowing anything therof. He was so glad to save my expenses by way, that he presently came to my chamber, and proposed to me the good occasion that offered itself to me to see my contrie and parents, telling the whole story of their voyage to Poitou, and how the Abbé du Fau, being a priest, would supply my absence, and that, therfor, I might part when I pleased unexpected til they begin their journey, becaus Monsieur du Fau would stay with him until their jorney were begunne and ended, as pensionair, and lye in my chamber. I did make myself very indifferent, and willing to doe what he pleased. So he bid me go the morrow and tak my place in the coche of Rouen. I did go and tak it in the coche of Antwerpe, and the next day, which was St. Laurence Day, I parted. He gave me fyftee crownes which he was resting me of my gages. We were nynne days in the way to Brusselle from Paris.

The morrow after I arrived to Brusselle, I did go to see my good freind, Monsieur de Champaine, and did communicat my affair to him, concealling the name of the ladye, being unwilling that she should be known if my errand should not succed prosperously. I requyred his assistance. He answered me that he was solicitating the Infanta for an mater of greater moment for the Congregation, and therfor could not medle himself in my

affaire. Then I prayed him at least to acquaint me with the Archbushope of Machlin, primate of that countrie, that, by his moyen, I might obtaine my sute; to which he answered, saying, I cannot do that nather, because I have unhappily trusted myn owne affaire to him, which I do sore repent, for if I had not done so I might have been dispatched long or nou; and, after a whole year and more depending upon him, I am no nearer the end this day then I was the first that I spoock to him. Therfor, I counsel you not to employe him, for if you engage him therin you must depend wholly upon him, and he wil not move himself the more for that, but mak you spend your moneys linguering here, and be forced then to go away ungotten any thing done; for at this Court affaires go more slowly then at the Court of France, and you must ever have your hand at your purse, for without gold nothing is done heir; and if you, wearying at their slownes, go by the archbishop and his secretaries, and employ others, both he and they wil tak it as an affront, and oppose you. Wherfor, to conclude, I counsell you not to engage him therin, but to tak some other course at the beginning, and keep yourself free of him and his. I thought his counsel very good, as I knew the man to be very sincer, wherfor I thanked him very kindly, and asked him what cours he would counselle me to tak. Truly, said he, I can give you no counsel therin, for you can find non to addresse yourself unto, but they are ather contrie people or strangers; the contrie men wil think themselves obliged to preferre their owne ladyes to a stranger ladye, for their owne interest or the interest of their frinds; and strangers, although they have no proper interest, yet they wil rather favour the interest of the contrie ladyes then of a stranger whom they know not. If she were heir, she might perchance mak frinds to herself with tym, according to her behaviour. I could move Per[e] Chanteloup, who hath great credit with our Quene-Mother, present her to her Majesty, who might be moved to recommend her to the Infanta, but nothing of al that can be done with good grace for an unknown ladye. Persuad her to come heir, and we shal doe what we can. No, said I, she is but too wyse to mak such a voyage upon incertitudes.

#### § 6. Of my speaking to the Infanta.

I considered his discourse, and perceived that I could not expect any frinds to assist me: yet, said I, without ather almes or answer, I shal

not returne. I am too farre ingaged to do nothing but returne againe home with my finger in my mouth, or, as the French say, *avec un pied du ne*: my honor is ingaged. An honest man, we say, is a lyon in his owne cause, and now the cause is not hers only, but myn also; therefor, I wil speak myself to the Infanta, without the mediation of any, and so, I am seure, I shal be soonest despatched. I did communicat this desein to my frind, which he approved to be the best and breefest way to be shortly answered; but knew not if the answer would be favourable, in respect that her Highness did know that many ladyes were expecting the first vacant benefice, and would not fail to take it il if a stranger were preferred to them al. Nather do I know, said I, whether my answer shal be good or badde; but whatsoever it be, reseaving it from her Majesty's owne mouth, we must acquiesce therunto, if it be a flat denyel, and not trouble her Majesty any more, but turne our saille another way.

Then I asked if her Majesty did speak Italian. Yes, said he, and Frenche and Spanishe, and heighe and low Dutch; if you speak to her in any of theis she wil answer you in the same, as indead she did. I spack to her in Italian, becaus I did not know the Frenche so wel as it. I was very glad to take that cours to go to herself immediately, to be the sooner dispatched, but I would not precipitat nor speak to her Majesty until I had prepared and wel considered the discours that I was to say to her, that it should nather be defective through the omission of any thing that were fitte to dispose her Majesty to favor the ladye, nor superfluous abusing her Majesties cares and patience, receiting unnecessarye things. I spent a whole week in wreating and disposing my harrangue, and in the mean tyme I did go every day to the court, to see and learne the ceremonyes that were used at the audience, which were theise same that are used at the court of Rome. In the beginning I did go in very freely, without difficulty, as one of the suet of Monsieur D'Orleans, who was then ther; but from once the valets of her Majesties chamber did know that I was non of his, but was for some bussines, they did hold me out, which I seeing, and knowing that I behoved to mak a keye of gould, I scraped againe, and presented a single pistole of gold to him who imediatly had shoot the dore upon my nose. Then he opened the dore large aneugh, and made a civility to me, and promised to serve me with greate affection. I did give as much to every one of three others, who did al not only profer greate kindnes to me, but really performe it; for they did receive me in as if I had been an

actual domestick, when they repouffed others much richer than I, but lesse liberale to them.

When I had wel considered what I was myndful to say to her Majestie concerning the ladye, and had repeated it to my owne selfe over and over againe so often, that I was not affrayed to stutter or stand dumme, I, being every day in the chamber of audience, did speak to her maister-houshold, who then was in quarter, the Counte de Noel, without whose licence non had audience. He granted my request, and prayed me to be short, becaus it was passed midday, and her Majestie was yet fasting. I promised to be very brieff. And so I was considering the mater that I had to deduce, as cleerly as I could, to persuaide the princesse to grant my sute; and notwithstanding I employed a good half houre, showing her Majestie, first, the condition and vertue of her parentes; how her father had suffered a long exyle, had his best castel blowen up with powder at the instigation of the puritanical ministers, and had suffered imprisonment three divers tymes, and stayed long at every tym; how, in the time of his banishment, he was taken in Zealand, and kept long in prison, and was to have been sent to Quen Elizabeth, in England, if he, being advertissed that she had sent a war ship for him, had not made an escape; and how constantly both he and his ladye had endured al those evils for the profession of the Catholik faith, wherein they both departed from this lyff, to the great damage of the pouer Catholik, who were both assisted and protected by them whilst they lived; how they had, to the greatest edification of all other Catholicks, brought up their children (eleven in number, wherof eight were ladyes,) verteously in the knowledge of the Catholik religion and publick profession therof, notwithstanding the cruel persecution that regned in theis tymes. Secondly, I spock of the young ladye herself, showing how she had been bredde in the exerceise of al such verteous employments as were fitting for a ladye of her condition, wherein she doth stil continou, bestowing non of her houres unprofitablye: then, how constant she was in the profession of the Catholik faith, which made her resolve to rather earne her living with her needle in an Catholik contrie, then returne home againe among hereticks. Al which I tould to her Majestie in detaille, who did heare me both attentively and patiently, without interrupting me, except once, that she asked what aage the ladye had, and when I answered that she had five-and-twentie yeares. she said that is a good aage, and bad me continow, which I did unto the end.



Her Majestie answering, said, I wil consider your demande. Then I subjoined, Madame, if your Majestie do not grant this sute, I humbly beseech your Majesty to do me the favor not to discover to any person the demande, for if it come to the eares of our contrie people who are heir that this ladye hath desired such a thing from your Majestie, and have bein refused, they wil wreat that to their frinds at home for newes, and so it wil come to the knowledge of our Puritan ministers, who wil not fail to make their pulpits ring with that example, as they wil cal it, to show that Catholickes have no true charite, and in derision bid the Papists, as they cal us, stand out couragiously, and let their owne meanes be [ ] ; the Pope and the King of Spain wil bestow aneugh upon your chyldren. Follow the example of our Constable, and let your houses be throwne doune, for your religion ; your Papist princes wil build them up againe, and wil give as much to your chyldren as the Infanta of Spain, so heighly cryed up for her charity, did give to the Constable his daughter, who sent a preist to Brusselle to procure from that so renowned princes a power canonicat, and was refused. Madame, this is the dayly prattick of theis ministers, to tak al occasions to show how hard are the hartes of Catholicks towards one another. She answered, I know they do so ; I wil doe what I can to give you satisfaction. Come againe, some other day, and I shal give you an absolute answer. I asked what day I might come, on being troublesome to her Majestie ? She said, what day you please, it shal not be importune to me ; and, howsoever the mater go, non man shal know your demande, but only my maister houshold, the Counte de Noel, who brought you in to me ; he will keepe it secrete aneugh. I said, Madame, to the end that your Majestie may get information, both of the ladye, who is in a monasterie of Franciscan nunnes, at Provin, in Brie, and of me, who am knowen to the oratoriens heir, I shal not return to your Majestie so soon, for fear that I be thought desirous to surprise your Majestie if I mak to much hast. Nay, said she, come when you wil, I requyr no mor informatione then you have given me ; you ask nothing for yourself, but only for a ladye, who wil be knowen soon aneugh, I wil only see if I can persuad the ladye, to whose daughter I have promised the first vacant benefice, to passe from that, and be content of the first therafter, which I shal know very shortly. Therfor, come when you please. I answering said, then, Madame, I shal come Tuysdaye next. She said, doe so. And I did tak my leave, and come foorth.

The Counte de Noel went in as I cam out, and (as himself tould me thereafter) complained that I had keepest her Majestie to long fasting. Nay, said she, I do not blame but much commend him for a very charitable man; he hath come from Paris heir, out of pure charitie, to sollicit me for a canonicat of Mons, for a ladye of his contrie, and hath not asked any thing for himself. I would heare, with great contentment, many preists procuring charitably for others, and nothing ask for themselves. Therfor I esteame him a truely charitable preist, and wil do what I can to contribut to his charite. I was overjoyed to heare this from the Counte de Noel, and therupon conceaved good hope of an favourable answer, which shal be tould in the next paragraphe.

#### § 7. Containing her Majesties gracious answer.

I did not faill to go to the courte the day appointed, and gotte audience as before: and her Majestie said, there is no benefice yet vacant, but you may mak her come heir, and I shall kepe her with myself until a benefice vaike, and the first that vaiketh she shal gette. I thanked her Majestie very humbly, and said, Madame, I know she wil not mistrust me, and wil come confidently to your Majestie upon your princely worde; but, Madame, ther be many Hugonots of our contrie people in Paris, who seke occasions to calumniat preistes and Catholicks, of what soever sex or condition they be. These declared ennemyes to al piety and religion wil not faill to say oppenly that such a woman did come to France to be a nunne, but, being debauched by a preist, is runne away with him, which wil give a great slander both to her sex and condition and to my character: al which your Majestie may hender, if you wil doe her the honor to give me a letter to her, wherein you command her to come to your Majestie; for your Majestie is so much respected every whair, and specially in France, that non darre presooome to detract of those whom your Majestie doth cal to her service. She answering said, that is very wel considered: I shal wreat for her. Go you to my secretaire, Faillia; he logeth in such a streat, every one will show his house to you, he is secretaire for the French tongue. I shal give him ordre to give you a letter for her. I did so, and he, being verie seek, sent me to his commis, to whom he had alredie sent the order that he had receaved from her Majestie, commanding



him to wreat a letter in French, conforme to that ordre, with al diligence, and give it to me.

This commis, named D'Espine, made me waite very long for this letter, so that tenne or twelffe dayes runne over. Her Majestie perceived me at her messe, and calling me to her oratorie, at the end of the messe, asked what me made staye ther so long. I answered, becaus I could not gette her letter from the secretarys commis; wherupon she did send to the secretair to dispatch me; but for nothing that the secretair would doe, would that reed headed fellow dispatch me, so that I was forced, after some dayes more, to give in a placet to her Majestie, complaining that the commys would not dispatche me, but did put me off with sure promises from day to day. I did give a single pistole of gould to one of her Majesties valets de chamber to present my placet faithfully, and procure me the answer therof, which he did very faithfully, taking his tym when the placets were to be readed made mine be redde first, wherby her Majestie, knowing that I was not yet dispatched, did send that same night to the secretair, commanding him to send her that letter that she had long since commanded him to wreat, for she would signe it with her owne hand befor she would go to bed. The secretair, much commoved, did send for his commys, and commanded him to carie that letter to the court in al hast, becaus her Majestie would not go to bed until she signe it. I did go the next day in the morning to see what answer my good Spaniard had for me. He tould what had passed by the occasion of my placet, and that her Majestie would not go to bed until she signed that letter, and bid me go to the commys and receave it.

When I did come to the commys, he tould me that I had made great sture for that letter, which he could not dispatch sooner, haveing other things to doe than my letter. I pacified him with a single pistole of gould, and not only pacified him but also made him my frind, in so much that, after the decease of that noble princess, when we were in great paine, not knowing what she had done for that ladye, he did comfort me much, assuring me that the Infanta could not have forgotten her; for, said he, I have receaved her Majesties orders for to wreat many letters for other ladyes of the same contrie, her owne subjects, whom she called to her, but I never receaved any ordre conteaning so much expression of a motherly love as did the ordre, wreaten at lenth, in Spanish, by her Majesties owne [hand], which I shal produce if the Stats mak difficulty to give her any thing. The order is much

more favorable then the letter, for we have our owne stile, which we may not cheange; also, the orders given are much more considered then the letters. How much kindness may a small gift acqyre, when it is given with good grace?

But to returne againe where I left off. How soone I had received the letter I returned to the Courte, and humbly thanked her Majestie for her great charitie, and did go that samen night to Mons, and the next day visit the chanonesses, and one of them did tak me to her loging very civilly. She had two other dames, chanoinesses, with her in pension, for they have not al logings, ther being but twelf logings for threttie dames. Ther they did tel me al ther facone of living, as to a stranger curious to learn the rareties of every contrie that I go unto, for I had passed in Brusselle for an Italian, and there I also called myself so. I cannot forget the complaisance of one very beautiful ladye, called Mademosell D'Estrumal, who, to satisfye my curiosity, did unvest herself, being al in whyt, as she was in the church at the office, from which I was come with these ladyes to ther loging, and revested herself with their winter habit, which they beare in the church at office and heigh messe; and untroussed her train of furring, which was no shorter than the traine of an cardinal, which they do not untrousse but when they go to the offrand, and how soone they returne to their places do trousse it up againe; they are lyk angelles in the church, as wel for the modestie of their behaviour, as for the whitness of their pure Hollande habit, all the seames wherof are distinguished with a small geat of black taffetes, which is drawn upon their secular habit, very mete unto it, which they pul of when they come from the church to ther logings; and out of the church are clothed modestly as secular ladyes, with ther *quouf-feure a la mode*. They are very civil and affable, and so wysse that not one in an hundredth yeares do play the foole, although they have great libertie, and useth to go in company to civile recreations, but non of them wil go alone with any other company whatsoever. They come to the churche in sommer at fyve hours, and at six in the winter, and sing all the houres, as chanoins doe, with many obeits of fundation, so that some dayes they have three sang messes, one after another, al which they do sing. Every one giveth the halfe of her yearly corne rent for her pension, with a maide, and the other half of their corne rent and their distributions are ordeaned for their clothings and other necessities, so their tochers do augment until they be maryed.

When I had receaved this civilitye from theis ladyes, I did tak my leave of them and went to dynner, and therafter to Maubeuge, as Ladye Isabel had desired me. In that beggerly town, or rather villag, ther is another college of chanoineses. I was bouted, and could not get a hors from Mons to go ther, but was forced to go in a carte. I had done better if I had gone a foote, for the four ligue betwixt theis two townes are but very short; and yet the cartre, being an drunken fellow, keiped us from two of the clock until night was closed, drinking at every bear house in the way, which are very frequent, from quarter to quarter of a ligue. Ther wer non in the carte but a daughter of the boure to whom the carte did belong and I; she had been selling why in Mons, for which she had received fourty crounes, which she had upon her, and prayed me, when we did enter in the forrest, to keep for her, which I refused to do, saying, I am a stranger to you, and, if voleur come to us, I wil be the first whom the wil persue; but, if I can, I wil save both your persone and your moneys, which I did. The forrest conteaned but a good half ligue, and the end of it was neare the towne. When we were within two hundreth paces to the end of the wood, two cavaliers did mete us, and, or they came at us, did cry *arrest chartier*; they made him louse his horse from the carte, and said to the wenche, Madame, give us moneyes. Then, I said, gentlemen, you know wyffes beare not a purse wher their husbands are, she is my wyffe; I pray you doe not terrifye her, for she is with chylde. Then, you wil give us moneyes, said one of them to me. Yes, said I, you shal get the half of that which I have upon me, with very good wil; and I hoip, as gentlemen, you wil be content therof, and wil not put me and my wyff to the extremity to begge our loging. So let us see, said he, what you wil give us. Then I did tak out my purse, in which ther wer but six crownes, I compt out three, all in six sols peices money of that contry. When he had compted them he would not have them. Give me them againe, said I, and tak you my purse, which he did; and, when he had compted what was in it, he would not have that nather, and in the meantym, the mouth of his carrabin was stil at my breast, and his companion by his syde, both upon their horses, and I siting in the carte.

When I did see that nather of the halffes did please him, I said, gentlemen, I did promise you the half of the moneyes that I have, and I have put in your hand, first the one halfe, and then the other, non wherof can please you, although I have offered the one or the other with very

good wil. and I cannot give you both my halfe, to begge my owne supper. Nay, said he, you shal not neid to begge your supper, for heir we shal kille you, therfor give us al in tym. When you have killed me, said I, you may tak both, but I wil not give you al so long as I can live, neither do I think that gentlemen, as I tak you to be, would kil for three crownes a man who had offered them the rest that he had with so good a grace as I have offered to you the other halfe. You are, said he, a Frenchman, and our ennemye, therfor we shal kille you. When you have killed me, said I, you wil not have killed a Frenchman. But you are, said he. You may know, said I, by my tongue that I am no Frenchman. Then you are an Hollender or Englishman, they are al our enemyes. I am nather, said I. What are you then, said he? I am an Italien, said I. You have not the mean of an Italien, said he. There be many different means in Italy, said I, and, if you understood the Italien tongue, I would mak you know that I am a Roman borne. Then the other, who had kepted silence til now, said, I love the Italiens as my owne selfe. Then, said I, you should love me.

In the meane tym, that one of them who had his carrabin stil at my breast, and threatning stil to kille me, my supposed wyffe did convoye herself downe from the carte into the woode, and so saved herself and her moneyes; and was, it may be, at home befor they did perceive her absent. I did see her go away, for I was nothing troubled nor affrayed at their menaces. Then he who loved the Italiens asked where was my wyffe? I said, gentlemen, you must mak compt of my wyffe to me, for I wil not lose her, nor my chyld that is in her bellye. Geist but at leasor, said he, we shal mak you find her to us. Nay, that I shall never doe said I, find my wyffe to you to mak myself a cuceuld; if you will, I shal go in the wood and seik her for myself, but not for you. I beganne to grow wearye to be kepted so long their prisonnier, and with the back of my hand I chopped upon the breast of him who had his carrabine at myn; and he in anger said, what do you meane. I said, I would but only know if your doublet be harder then myne; if it were not, said he; you should not keepe long your prissonier, said I. By the lord, we must kill him, said he. You darre not, said I. Wherfor darre I not, said he. You durst never look an honest man in the face, said I, if you, armed from head to foote, should kill a nacked man, having nothing but a sword in his hand. We squabled their a while, and squabling came friends againe. They seeing that I did

not much feare them, the other, who had said that he loved the Italiens as himself, said, give us with good wil what you promised us to pay our supper, and go your way. I did give the three crownes which I had offered them oft tymes. They did take them; and he said, do not say that you have met with voleurs, for if we had been such you had been dead er now, for you have provoked us but too much; be not so resolut against voleurs if you be not the stronger partie. No, I said, I know that you are not voleurs, but gentlemen in necessity; if I had a companion, I would no doe as much. So they commanded the carter to yock his horse to the carte, and went their way; and so endeth this paragraph.

§ 8. Showing the ingratitude of a clown, and the rest of my voyage to Paris, and Provin, and Dieppe, and Brusselle.

We arrived at last to Maubeuge, and when we came to the logging of the bour, who was maister of the carte, he asked fourty sols for my place in his emptie carte, for four liguës. His daughter had tould him before we arrived that I had promised so much, which I did indead, not finding any other comodity. The carter said that I had promised so much, which I did confesse, and said, it becometh you very il to ask fourty sols from me who have saved fourty crownes to you, and the honor of your daughter, for the sawety wherof I have lossed my owne moneyes; it would come better to make me a good supper in your house, and thank me for the favour that I have done you. No said he, that is al one, you must pay what you promised. Then I seeing his unworthiness, I did cast down fourty sols to him. I shal learne this day never to endomage my owne self for to oblige a paisant, and went away mor grieved for the ingratitude of the bourish fellow, then for any thing that I had lossed. I went to an logis and rested that night, and the morrow did go to see the ladyes channoinesses, and ther did acquaint myself with one named Meldrum, her parents behoved, as I think, to be come from Scotland, but she did not know from whence they were come. I acquainted myself with others ther, and learned the particulars of their college, for the institut is al one in al their colleges. That college wil decay, if it be not alreadie, for many of them had then made vowes not to mary, being persuaded therto by some bigots under the pretext of devotion.



The next day thereafter I did heyre a horse and went to Cambray, for I had yet in my little pocket a pistole of gould, which the voleur might have found if they had searched my pockets; but they durst not light downe from their horses, being loadened with heaue armour, nor let me downe from the carte, fearing that I might run in the wood where they could not follow me. At Cambray, I sought a horse for St. Quentin, but could not find one, wherfor I was forced to go on foote, and beare my bouttes upon my shoulder, as a cavalier newly demonted, as they who did mete me did think, and asked wher I had been demounted. At St. Quentin I did go to Mr. Lesley, my contrieman and school-fellow, some tym in Rome, who had a little before gotten a chanonrie ther in St. Quentin; he did become baille for a horse for me to go to Paris, and did lenne me four crownes. The owner of the hors sent a man with me to tak his horse bak again from Paris. The first day I road from St. Quentin to Compier, and the next day to Paris. When I came to Paris, I did loge in the house of my consellier, who was not yet returned from Poitou. I did go to a cousine of his, who keiped his moneyes, to tak up five pistolles from her in his name, as he had given her ordre to give me if I should retourne befor him. I did receave them, and upon that same horse road the next day to Provin, eightein lighes from Paris, and ther gave acounte of my voyage to the ladye, and delivered her the letter that I had gotten from the Infanta for her. I arrived at Provin upon St. Michael his day. I prayed her to mak hast to come away from thence to Paris, which she did. I returned the next day to Paris, and upon the morrow depeshed my man with his horse, paying him for the hyre of the horse, which I belive was his own, thretty solz be day, and twentye for himself, and did give him as much as he asked for to entertean himself and his horse from Paris to St. Quentin, which made a breach in my five pistolles, but I did not reguard what I did spend for the service of that ladye.

She did wreat to me in Paris, befor she did part from Provin, to tak two chambers, garnised, for her and her servant one, and for an ould gentleman who had served her father many yeares, and waited upon her on his owne charges, another; which I did in the street called la Mortellerie, nere the water, becaus she would come from Provin be water, embarking at Coay, two lighes from Provin. Three days after she did come to Paris, she did pray me to go to Dieppe, to borrow, in her name, fourtie pistolles from the Laird of Belgownye, to make her voyage to Brusselle. The

gentleman had not so much with him, but he did wreat with me to Rouen, to a frind of his, called Mr. Lesley, a maker of organnes, who some dayes befor had offered to Belgownye five hundreth crownes. When I did come to him, he tould me that he had given out his moneys but two dayes befor that, so I came home again as light as I did go abroad, which did greeve her very much. Then she was forced to have recours to Mr. Pendrich, Superieur then of the Scots College, who, having the rents of that College in his hands, was able at any time to lenne a frind a greater soome then four hundreth franes, which was al that she desired to borrow from him, and notwithstanding the frindship that he professed to her, he made her wait three weekes in Paris, spending both tym and moneyes, before she could get a farthing from him. I did suspect that he did it to force her to returne in frindship with Maister Forbes, which, as I did show above, he desired most earnestly, yet it had no effect. At last he did deliver her fourty pistolles; and to Alexander Davidson, the ould gentleman who waited upon her, and did go with her to Brusselle, he did lenne twentye pistolles upon his owne promise.

Having gotten moneyes, and provided some things necessair for her voyage, I did go and take the first four places in the coeh of Antwerpe for her and her woman, and that gentleman and me, and the third day thereafter we beganne our voyage, which was long, in respect that the dayes were short, and the wayes deep, through the raines that had fallen befor. We arrived to Brusselle the eleventh day of our journay, wearied enough, being so long tyme tosted to and fro, up and downe, and from syde to syde in the coche, wars then in a shipe, except that the smel of the sea is worse. I did admire how she was able to endure that tormoile, so many dayes, from one or two houres before day, until night closed every day, and some tymes were in the feildes one whole houre after night was closed. I believe that the great joy that she had to go to wait upon that renowned princees did augment in her (who otherwayes was very delicate) both force and courage, for she arrived ther in good health, and did never please herself in the waye.



§ 9. Showing her Majesties graciousness towards the ladye, her Majesties death, and our caice from her death until the publication of her last will.

The next day after we arrived to Brusselle, I did go to the court, and haveing obtained audience from the Count de Noel, advertised her Majestie that the ladye was arrived, and inquired when it would please her Majestie that she should come to wait upon her. She said, when you please, bring her, she shal be welcome. But, said she, tel me first if she be wel cloathed, for, if she be not, I wil cloath her al new before she come, and wil give her linens, and whatsoever other things she needeth. I answered, (through the inspiration, I belive, of her good angel,) she hath one gowne of Naples taffeta, and another of tabbie, both new; and I tould her also something of her linnings, which I have forgotten. Then she said, she is wel in order, that is enough; bring her heir when you wil. I asked, what day it would please her Majestie that she should come? This was upone Tuesday, the two and twentie of November. Her Majestie said, bring her upon Thursday next. Then, as if she had bein surprised, she said, no, not Thursday, for that day I must doe my devotion for St. Catherin's day; bring her upon Fridday, at one of the clock. I shal give ordre to the Counte de Noel to receave her at the gate, and bring her to my chamber dore; and ther Madame de Montmorancy, my dame d'honneur, shall receave her from him (because he cometh not in my chamber,) and bring her in to me. Then I said, Madame, she understandeth not wel the French tongue, and wil need an interpret; wil your Majestie permit me to come with her, to be interpret? She said, men do not come in my chamber, unless it be for some pressing affaire; but if you wil, you may come with her, for her business is considerable to her. But I, being loath to be too much importune, said, Madame, rather then be troublesome to your Majestie, who receaveth not usually men into your chamber, I will seek some gentlewoman who can speak English. If she can speak English, said her Majestie, you shal not nede to seek any bodye, for my chamber woman is an English woman; she shal be our interpet; yet, if you desire to come with her, you shal be welcome. I thanked her Majestie, and said that, since my presence was not needful, I would not be importune. So, I did tak my leave of her Majestie for that tyme, and for ever, to my great regret.

I went to the ladye, and tould her al her Majestie had said to me, and then prepared an carrosse against Fredday the twentieth of November, the feast of St. Catherine, and she did mak herself readie against the tyme appointed to her. The day being come, and the houre approaching, she beganne to say that she was not willing to go to see her Majestie that day, but would rather go some other day; which did displease me. Seeing her willing to persever in that mynd, and in anger I said to her, Madame, I pray you do not think to play fast and lousse with great princes, and specially Spaniardes, for they are not to be geisted withal; if you keep not the day and hour that her Majestie hath apointed you, she wil, I am assured, mak you seik twentie tymes befor she appoint you another day. I know two of our contriemen, one a gentleman of good quality, and the other a marchant, you have heard of them both, who might have been wel at their ease now if they had played their cardes wel, accepting thankfully that which the King of Spaine did graciously offer them, but they unwysely neglected his Majesties benevolence, which they have since many tymes wished, but al in vane, for his Majestie would never give eare to any that sought thereafter to procure any thing for any of them two. The Spaniards, I wil tel you, wil not be slighted, nor endure that their favours be neglected. I pray you, Madame, let it not be said that Ladye Isabel Hay did come from Paris to Brusselle to the Infanta, upon her Majesties letter, and, because she did not come to the court at the day appointed, her Majestie would never see her, as is said of theis gentlemen that they neglected what was offered to them unsought, and now cannot get it for much seiking; make you rather your benefeit of their fault than let others mak theirs of yours.

Befor I could get her wel persuaded to go that day, the carrosse came to the dore, and what with good wil and what with il, we got her into the carrosse, and when we came to the courte we found the Count de Noel at the gate waiting for her. He did tak her in through the great hal to the dore of the princes chambre, and ther Madame de Montmorancy receaved her, and presented her to the princes, who was at denner. She did sitte upon her knees al the tyme of the princes denner, answering to the demands that she made to her; and, for the conclusion, she tould her that ther was no benefice vaking, but that the first that vaiketh shal be given to her, and that she would keip her at the court with herself until the first vaking benefice, and that she should mak herself readie, for she would send for her

within short tyme. So she did tak her leave of her Majestie for ever. Madame de Montmorancy convoyed her to the dore, and the Count de Noel (who had stayed al the tym in the hal with us, to wit, Alexander Davidson and Matilda Kempe, her servand, and me) did receave her at the dore, and convoy her to the gate, and see her in her carrose. When we were at her loging, I asked her what she did think of that princes? I think, said she, al my travel wel bestowed, although I should never get any more good from her but only the honor to have sein her, and to have spoken with her at this tyme. And, indeed, she had good reason to say so, for she was the rarest, not only princes, but I may wel say woman, that was in her tyme, for I do not think that any man, let be woman, had such a grave affability and affable gravity as she had.

We al were very joyful the rest of that happye day, which we did reckon among the genial dayes, and our discours for the most part was of the great goodnes and vertue of that generous princes, and we were resolving what course each of us should tak when our ladye should be taken from us. I was to returne to Paris to my maister, Mr. Dorsay, the conselier; Alexander Davidson had a good patrimony to live upon, which he had gotten for long service from the ladyes father, the Constable, therfor we ordeaned him to be Mardocheus, to sit at the court gate, and give good counselles to Easter; but we knew not what to do with poor Matilda, her woman, for she could not stay with her maistresse at courte. Trouble not yourselves for me, said she, have not I a master? Its true, said Alexander Davidson, she is my page; she must wait upon me. Take head then, said I, that the page become not Ruth, and creep in at the feete of Boos. So we made our recreation that night befor a good fire merely, but the morrow, before nine o'clock, we had newes that turned our mirth to melancholye, which was that the Infanta was very seek of a great fever. I did go every day to the palais to learne in what casse her Majestie was, and the guards tould me. Upon Thursday, the first of December, as I came near the gate, I perceived it shoot, and only the gicket open; then I did suspect that which was, that her Majestie was dead, and weeped bitterly. Yet I did go forward, and asked what newes ther were of her Majestie. One of the garde answering said, why do you ask that which you do know? your eyes show that you do know her Majesties decesse. I said my hart did fear it when I did see the great gate shut; its but over true, said he, we may al shed many teares for the great

losse that we have made this day, which this pouer contrie wil never recover.

I returned with theis bad newes to my ladye, which myn eyes did but my tongue could not expresse at myn entrie, for she did not know what my silent but vehement teares did meane, and she and her servante did follow my example. Al that day, as oft as I did look upon her, I could not hinder myself from falling in most violent quintss of weeping for the losse that she made that day. Heir I wil report, shal I cal it a dreame or a vision, that her servande, Matilda Kempe, had. Heir are her owne wordes : I dreamed, said she, this night, that I did see the Infanta going to mak a long voyage, accompanied with great magnificence, and did not tak my ladye with her, but left her heir to her nephew, the Cardinal Infant, to marie her. This was al her dreame. The explanation of the first part is but too clear, to wit, the death of the Infanta ; the second part, to wit, that the Cardinal should marie her mistres, wil appear clear enough in the narration following, for it was he that conferred upon her the first vaiking benefice of Mons, according to the last wil of his aunt, the Infanta. But to returne againe to the lamentable casse that we were in.

God Almighty, who knoweth the harts and searcheth the reines, doth wel know, but non other, what greiffe and dolorus affliction my hart did suffer from that day forth until Candles Messe, being al that tyme in great incertitud whether her Majestie had remembered my pouer ladye or not in her last wil. I fand not rest night nor day, for my sadde and troubled day thoughts and much fruitless paines made me dreame the night that which I had bein doing the day ; and as I could learn no certainty of that which I endeavored the dayes to know, so the nights my mynd was ather drawing with lynnes, curious parteries or gardens, that I could never finish, or seeking wayes to come out of labirinths which I could never find ; so that I did oft tymes ryse in the morning with my bonnes more wearyed then they were when I did go to bedde, the which (if it had but continued as long againe as it did) would infallibly have bereft me of my lyffe or of small witte, for I left nothing unsearched that seemed to me capable to give me any notice of that which I desired to know.

I persuaded myself that these whom her Majestie had named for to governe the stat until the arrivy of her nephew, behoved to be much about her in her seikness, and her confesseur who (if she remembered my pouer ladye) could not be ignorant of it. I therefor addressed myself unto him,

to see what I could learne from him. He was a Spanish Cordelier, the most rustick and rude ambitious and envious fellow that ever I did speak with in al my lyff. I went to his chamber at the Cordeliers, hoping to learne something from him. I spoek to him with as much respect as if he had bein primat. He made no answer. I thought it was becaus he was going to say messe. I waited upon him after messe. He ranne to his chamber; I followed, he rapped too his dore upon my nose. I chopped douselye, no answer; then I chopped harder, no answer. At last I rapped with my foote, then he said who is that so rude at my dore? One, said I, who has something to say to you. Then he came and halfe oppened his dore, and as I began to conjure him, he said, *Nihil sum, nihil scio*: that is, I am nothing, and I know nothing; and saying that, shut his dore againe. Afterwards I did telle this passage betwixt the fryre and me to Monsieur d'Andolat, a Bourguimon of the Franche Counte, her Majesties first maister-honshold, who did laugh wel, and said he is the most brutal fellow that ever lived. Her Majestic kepted him here only to be mortified by him; he is as ambitious as brutal. Becaus he hath not gotten a bishopric, that made him say *Nihil sum*; but her Majestic did know him but too wel to give him any authority above soules. He did know wel enough what her Majestic had done for your ladye, for he did wreat the codicile. This much he, after that all was discovered, for the gouverneurs were present at the wreating of it, but they were all bound to secesy until the fourtie day, and then the last will was redde before them al.

I did go every day to one or other of theis gouverneurs, who were seven in al, the Archbishope of Machlin, primat of the countrie, the Chancelier, the President Rose, the Audientier, that is to say the Secretair, Marquis d'Andolat (of whom I spoek above), Don Carolo de Coloma, who had been gouverneur of Milan, and the Marquise d'Ætona, generalissime of the armyes, a brave and vigilant capitaine to be over man. Although non of al those would discover to me ther was anything done for my ladye, yet they did now and then let some wordes go, which I constructed in the best sense to comfort her who had great nede of comfort; for our own contrie people, who wer ther, did much discourage her, alledging that the Spaniards promised much, but performed little; the contrarie wherof was, and is true, for they are slow in promising, and do wel consider befor they engage, but pay wel what they promis. No bodyes wordes in that sorte did trouble her or me so much as the counsel that Alexander David-



son did give her. For of the rest, some were disgusted with the Spaniards, who did not give them what they desired, whether with reason or not, for all demanders pretend justice in their demands. His counsel was to go away in tyme, either back again to France, or home to Scotland, or other-ways she would be forced to sell her cloathes, and go away naked. This coming from his mouth, whos judgment she esteemed much, and in whom she had great confidence, knowing him to be her real frind, as indeed he was, did trouble us much; but he gave too much credit to others, which did go nere to undoe her fortune.

I perceived the cause of this his credulity to proceed from his diffidence, diffiding too much of the Infanta, for the which I prayed him dyvers tymes, and urged him to go in company with me to the gouverneurs, that he might be acquainted with them, and hear and see what was my carriage among them, what I did say to them, and they to me, that we might conjunctly travel in the bussines, and that he might beare witnes to the ladye and others if I did my duetye or not; and that, if death or seekness should overtak me, that he might prosecute her affaire, but nothing could move him to doe that, pretending, for his excuse, that he nather could speak nor understand the Frenche, and that nobody did doubt but that I did and said al that any man could doe or say in that behalfe. It is very true that he understood very little Frenche, and did speak lesse, but that was not his true motive; but this was it indeed. He believed others, and persuaded himself that the Infanta, being preoccupied with so violent a fever that did tak her away in fyve days, could not have remembered the pouer ladye among so many great maters of the stat as she had to clear, forby the preparation of her owne soul for an eternity. And, therfor, since apparantly ther was nothing to be expected, he would not meddle him therin, but let al the blame of her fruitless voyage lye upon me, who had procured her the letter from the Infanta, and persuaded her to undertake the voyage, of all which he was nather arte nor part, as he use to say, but only accompanied her. I did perceiue this to be his motive, which greived me very much, yet my confidence was in Almighty God, who knew that I did not look to my owne intereste in that bussines, hoping for reward, thanks, or praise, but only to the wel of the distrassed ladye; and, therfor, trusting that he who see my sincerity would blesse my travelles. I did persevere patiently going among those noblemen, who, seeing my perseverance, did let slippe out, as it were, negligently or be way of compliment, some

wordes which might encourage me, such as thes, I shal serve that ladye, which the Audiencier said once, which I interpreted thus: if there were nothing provided for her, wherein would he serve her, he is not a young frolick man to mak idle compliments. The Chancellor asked me once what she pretended, I answered that the Infanta, of happy memory, had promised her the first canonicat vaiking in Mons. Would she be content, said he, if she gotte that? I said she would. I shal execut, said he, the wil of her Majestie; from which I collected that if there were no wil made for her, he would not have said to me that he would execut the wil of her Majestie, for al her other wils doth not concerne me any thing, so that he behoved to men her wil for the ladye. I did stil report theis, and divers other wordes in that sense, to assure my ladye that the Infanta had remembered her, which did something incourage her; but Alexander Davidson was not satisfied with them, which he esteemed but compliments, and no assurances of any thing. Yet she, betwixt hope and dispare, as they say, followed my counsel, and expected patiently unto the end.

¶ 10. Of her Majesties last wil towards the ladye, and the publication therof, and of Mr. Forbes and Mr. Annan their letters to her brother.

At last, the tym appointed for the publication of her Majesties last wil being com, it was redde publickly before al the gouverneurs, and many of the greatest nobles of the contrie. Her Majesties last wil had bein made twelf yeares befor her decease, at which she altered nothing therof. But for this ladye she made upon her death bedde a particular codicile, conteaning nothing bot her provision, which was thus. First, she did show that she had called out of France unto her a daughter of the Constable of Scotland, who had suffered great persecution for the Catholick faith, with intencion to kepe her at the courte a maide of honor, until such tym as some canonicat should come to vaike in Mons, to be given her to the prejudice of whosoever pretended to get it; and, therfor, I do now dispossesse of the first vaiking unto her, and my wil is, that she be preferred to al who can pretend to have had from me any promis therof, which I recal until this stranger be served first and before al. And, moreover, I wil that of the moneyes gotten for my meubles, a found be made for an thousand livres



of rent to be a yearly pension unto her, duely payed, until she enjoye peaceably the fruits of her benefice, and thereafter to be bestowed on other charities, by the advice of the executeurs of my last wil.

This is the substance of the codicile, which being finished and signed, with her own hande, she did tak the Archbishope of Machline by the hand, and, holding stil his hand in hers, said to him as followeth : My lord, you see my affection towards this demoiselle, I wil yet tel you more. If it had pleased God to prolong my lyff any forder, I intended to be a mother unto her, and provyd her ; but, since it is his wil to cal me from her, I charge you, as you shal give an compt at the last day, to be a father unto her, and see my wil towards her executed punctually. (What greater love could her Majestie have shoven to her owne child, if it had pleased God to give her any ?) The Archbishope answering, said, I am not worthie to be a father unto whom your Majestie would have bein a mother, but I shal be a faithful procureur to her, and execute your Majesties wil towards her in al things. This much I had from the Archbishope himself concerning the codicile, and her Majesties speach to him, which he tould me after that the testament and codicile had bein publickly redde. Yet these were the first assured newes that we had of any thing provided for her, and, when he tould me these things, he asked me if she had nede of moneyes. I answered, that she had no great store of moneyes ; wherupon he brought me two hundreth franes to give her, saying, telle her that I do lenne her this, wherby I am engaged to procur for her that she may pay me, otherwayes I shall loose so much as this is. Then he tould me, lykewise, that the inventair of her Majesties meubles was now made, and that in the first whole week of Lent the vent (that is to say, the selling of them) would beginne, and that how soone there were a considerable soome gotten, it should be constitut to pay her a thousand livres of pension yearlye, until she enjoye her benefice. I am her procureur, let her not be in peine said he.

When I did come home to my ladye with these newes and the moneye, I was more welcome for the newes than for the moneye, althought she was verye bare of money. Then both she and I did play upon Alexander Davidson for his incredulitye ; she said, Don, for so she used to cal him, if I had followed your counsel, where should I be now ? Doubtes I should bein the object of laughing to many, when they should have heared that her Majestie had left provision for me, and I had losed it for want of patience

to stay until her wil had bein knowen. For I belive if I had once gon away, I should not bein welcome back againe, nor admitted to crave anything that her Majestie had left me, for haveing abandoned it. I must confesse the Fathers counsel was better then yours, and he had more patience then we all, althought he had al the peines, and had raison to be soonest wearie of our hyding heir, loosing for me his owne condition in Paris (for she did know, by letters that I receaved from Paris urging me to returne, that Mr. Dorsay had taken another preist, seeing that I did not returne), but God, I hope, wil reward you, Father, turning to me, for al the good you have done me, since I am not able to doe it. How joyful would the newes have bein to Mr. Forbes, and some others, if I had lossed my travel coming here; but God be blessed a thousand tymes, who had not made me the mocking stock of myn ennemies, and God reward him, over and over againe, who had the charitie to beginne, and the patience to expect, the end of myn affaires. This short discours, spooken with such a feeling, both of the evil that she had apprehended, and of the good that she enjoyed, did strick both Alexander Davidson and me dumme.

That same day I prayed to her to mak a visit to the Archbishope how soone as she could, to thank him for his goodnes towards her, and for his engaging himself so farre in her affaires. She was content to doe it, and I did go to hire a carrosse for the next day; and we went to his logis, and found him within (I cal it a logis, and not a palais, as many under his dignity have, for it was but an very ordinary logis). Ther he receaved us very kindly, for her sake, and tould her, befor us al, worde by worde, what I said above I learned from him concerning her Majesties codicile, and her adjuration of him to tak a fatherly care of her, which I wil not repete againe; and he promised, over againe, to be a diligent and faithful procureur for her, ever until she were in peaceable possession of her benefice. He told her lykwyse, that the vent or selling of her Majesties meubles would beginne in the beginning of the first whole week of Lent, and that it would not last long, for the most part would be bought for her nephew, the Cardinal Infanta; and that, if she pleased to buy any anything to keepe for a memory of her Majestie, he would lenne her moneye; and that how soone a considerable somme of money were received, that he woulde mak a found be constituted, for a thousand livres of rent, to pay her pension yearly, until she should possesse her canonicat. When she did tak her leave, he did convoy her to her to his gate, and see her in her carrosse.

After this we were delivered of our great sollicitud, reposing upon the fatherly care of the Archbishope, as indead we might securely do it ; for he was a most learned, pious, charitable, and worthie prelat. I wish, from the bottome of my soul, that the Church of God had many such. We did go, haveing now leasur to draw our breath, and see the vent of her Majesties meubles exposed at the tym appointed. I did never see such riche and rare things as was ther. In the treasure of St. Denis ther are not so rare nor riche jouels as was ther. My ladye bought two pieces of it, may be tenne crownes a piece, to keep for a memory of her Majestie. I did ther, as I have oft tymes done in the faire of St. Germaines, behold many fyne things, and wish myself able to buy them ; but, for want of moneys, leave them to others, for I was very scant. I had non but what I gotte for saying the first Messe, every morning, at Notre Dame, *de bone successe*, a chapelle of great devotion, so called from a statu of our Ladye, which was brought from Aberdein, in the north of Scotland, to Ostend, by a merchant of Ostend, to whom it was given in Aberdein. And that same day that the shippe in which it was did arrive at Ostend, the Infanta did winne a battaile against the Hollanders, the people thinking that our Ladye, for the civil reception of her statu, did obteane that victorie to the princesse, who did send for the statu to be brought to Brus-selle, wher the princesse, with a solemne procession, did receave it at the porte of the toune, and place it in this chappel, wher it is much honored, and the chapelle dedicated to Our Ladye, of *bonne successe*, which befor was pouer and desolat, now is riche and wel frequented. The common beleiff of the vulgar people ther is, that this statu was throwen in the sea at Aberdein, and carried upon the waves of the sea miraculously to Ostend. So easie a thing it is for fables to find good harbour, wher verities would be beaten out with cudgelles.

I remember that, in the third paragraph, nere the end therof, I promised to show, in its oune place, which may be heir, the bolt that Mr. Forbes and Mr. Annan did shoot at me, whilst I was in Brusselle with this ladye, whom it also did concerne not a little ; which was thus : Mr. Forbes, hearing of the death of the Infanta, perswaded himself that this ladye must of necessity com bak againe to France, or go home to Scotland ; and seeing that she did nather of them, but remained stil in Brusselle, and knowing wel that the moneyes which she had borrowed from Mr. Pendrich, to wit, four hundreth francs, could not reach verye farre among

so many, and not knowing wher we had any other supplie, admired, and wreating to her brother, the Constable, did mak to him a glosse upon our voyage to Brusselle, both fals and scandalous, and unworthie of a gentleman of his quality, saying, in his letter to my Lord, that Father Blakhal and Alexander Davidson had taken his sister downe to the Low Contries, among the sojourns; and he made Mr. Annan wreat this same, in his letter, to give his Lordship two witnesses therof. This, I say, was fals; becaus they both did know that the Infanta had wreaten for her to go to her. They both did know that upon that letter she did undertak that voyage, which, if they had tould, her brother nather would nor could have been offended at us. But their intention was to mak us odious, both to him and others, and therfor they suppressed that which did mak our voyage honorable, and scandalously put sojourns for a most verteous princes, to mak it and us infamous; a basse sort of revenge, which could not proceed but from false and basse hearts.

Her brother reading that in two divers letters from trustie frinds, as he esteamed them, did fal in a great furie, and calling for a cousin of myn called Robert Blakhal, who was his actual servant, said, Robin do you know one called Father Blakhal in France? Yes, my lord, said he, a very honest man. A very basse knave, and a traitour, said my lord; he and Alexander Davidson hath taken my sister out of France, unacquanted Mr. Forbes or Mr. Annan, as they show me in their letters, and caried her to the sojourns in the Low Contries. I wil get my handes over them both and mak them smart for their doings; and she is a base woman for going away unacquanted Mr. Forbes, to whom I did give the charge of her. It was an easie thing to mak him belive this, for he did not know me, and he hated Alexander Davidson out of misure, and had great confidence in Mr. Forbes and Mr. Annan. Yet my cousin prayed him to have patience until the verity be knowen. Knowen, said my lord, it is but ower true; would these men lye to me, and specially in such a mater as is the disgrace of my sister. Then, said my cousin, if Father Blakhal have taken her any way which is not for her wel, your lordship shal punish me, for I wil put my lyff baille for him, we wil get better newes er it be long. I know Father Blakhal wil loose his lyff rather then his honor, and will never do such a basse action.

In the mean tym that I was thought such a knave in Scotland, I was busy remembring the Archbishoppe upon our affaires, for he was so over-

burthened with affaires, that he could not content every one ; but he was very diligent in our ladyes earand, and bidde me come to him the dayes of their meeting, and remember him befor his going from his own house. It wil suffice me, said he, that I see you, althought you speak nothing to me, as indead I neded not, for he was very careful. The vent was ended in three weekes, and the found for her pension was established in the Passion week, and in the Holy week, upon Holy Thursday, the Archbishop delivered to me three hundreth livres to carie to her, saying, these three hundreth, with the two hundreth which I gave you before, doe make up the half of her pension for the first yeare, and when she hath spent that, come againe to me and I shal give you the other halfe. Then I said, my lord, I think it not necessare that I stay heir any longer to be an unprofitable burden unto her, since there is no more for me to doe until an benefice come to vaik, and then she may send me worde to Paris, and I shal come and serve her with al my hart. No, said he, you shal not nede to tak the paines, for I shall serve her, I am her procureur ; but if you wil stay heir, and be confesseur to the English nonnes of the new monasterie, you may wait upon her, and be no burthen to her. To which I answered, my lord, *non co-tuntur Judæi Samaritanis*, that is, the Jewes and Samaritanes do not convers willingly together ; at which he smyled, and said, I know there be antypathie betwixt your nations, but now that should cease, being both under one king, and in some manner one nation. The cause of your antypathie was that you were under dyvers kings, and governed by different lawes ; and your kings were encroaching one upon another, which made the subjects hate one another as we are now with the Hollanders, and the Spaniards some tyme with the Portugals, whose enninity do yet continou although now under one king. I said, my lord, if ther were no other thing but the antypathie of our nations, which is wearing away, I could embrace that condition ; but the antipathie of opinions engendereth more animosity, the diversity of humeurs. I hold for true the opinion of their confesseur for the which they hated him, and becaus they could not get him away, went away themselves from their monasterie. Then I must enqyr for some other to them, said he ; and so I did tak my leave of him, and did never see him more.

I did cary to her theis hundreth crownes, and did tel her the newes of her pension, that the found was established, and her pension now asseured, and the Archbishope was constitute her payer, and that she had now but



him to deale with for it, and that he had promised to be her agent himself for the first benefice that shal vaik; and that, therfor, I was not to be more necessare unto her, wherfor I would returne to Paris as diligently as I could, haveing no more to doe ther; but she would not suffer me to go in the end of the Holy week.

¶ 11. Of my voyage back againe to Paris, and of a letter that I did wreat to Scotland, which offended her, and deprived me both of reward and thankes, at least from her.

In the week of Easter, upon Tuysday, I did tak my leave of her with many tears flowing from my eyes, but non from hers. I presaged that I would never see her face any more, and that made me weep so bitterly, that for half of an hour I could not get myself restrained, so tender was my heart towards her whom I was leaveing among strangers not provided according to her condition; for of the three hundreth francks that I had brought to her the Thursday befor, she forced me to tak one hundreth. I made great difficulty to tak more then the halfe, but I could not resist her. I parted from her, and the rest of her company, very melancholious and in a bade humeur. Alexander Davidson would nedes go convey me out of towne, and drink my *bien allé* in the Faubourg. I had hired a good horse. In the mean tyme, that we two and Thomas Lang, the gould smith, were drinking in a low roome, wher I might see my horse tyed to the dore of the tavernne, we did see three cavaliers going my way. I did not much love their convoe, wherfor I stayed the longer ther that they might be farre away. When I did go out of the Fauxbourg, as far as the flight of an arrow, I did see them among hillocks waiting upon me. I had two good pistolets at the torre of my saddle. I morced them, and came forward to them. They asked moneyes; I said I had non to give them but such as they had to give me, souldiers money. They said you must give us hanselle. I said, are you voleurs that you speak so? No, said they, we are soldiers going to mak our provision befor the campagne, and you wil do wel to give us hansel. Wil you then be content of what it wil please me to give you, said I? They said they would. I wil give you, said I, each of you a pot of bear, thats to say six sols; if you be not content theirow for hansel, I wil be at my defence. We wil be content with it, said they, give it us



with good wil. So I rode to him who was nearest me (for I kepted a distance between them and me) and maid him stretch out his hand, and laid it in his hand. They thanked me, and I, bidding them fair wel, rode my way, and did not rancontre any mor of that sort al the way. I went to Mons, and stayed ther that night.

The next day I did go to Valenchien to denner, and the afternoon did see the towne; a faire towne and riche, of great traffick. The third day to Andain, a village two ligue out of the way to Cambray, wher ther is a college of chanoinesses, whom I did see at leasseur, and from thence to Cambray, from Cambray to Peronne, to dynne, and after denner to Roy, against night; and the fyfth day from Roy to Senlis, for denner, and from thence to Paris with sunne sheining, and delivered my hors. He was a Tartarien, notable swift, and unfatigable. I payed for him six crownes for fyve dayes. I was never so wel monted upon a hyred horse. If he had not loossed an eye, he had been wel worth a hundreth crownes.

When I had delivered my hors according to the billet, I hyred a boy to cary my valise from the Rue de St. Denis to the University. My way was to passe Mr. Dorsay his house, in the Rue de Sant Croix. I thought good to go and salut him in my way, not pretending to stay any more with him, persuading myself that he had another preist in my place. I knocked at the gate; the laquay who oppened to me did not stay to shut the gate, but runne so full of joye, and tould that I was come. Monsieur was going to supper, but would not sit down until I come. He embraced me so kindly, and made me so welcome, that I was astonished, for my friends had wreaten to me that he would not see me more for staying away so long. I paid the bearer of my valise, and mad him leave it ther, and did returne in my condition as if I had never left it. He had indead taken another preist, who did stay with him from Christmesse to Easter, and was gon away only the day befor, *mal satisfait*, which made him love me the more, who had never complained.

When she did come from Provin she did stay some tym in Paris, as I have showen above; and, at that same tym, the Laird of Craig Gordon and his ladye were in Paris, going home to Scotland. They were special frinds to this ladye, and to me also. He, knowing of our intended voyage to Brusselle, and having sein and redde her Majesties letter to the ladye, engaged me by promise to wreat to him in Scotland the whole event, good or badde, of our journey ther; for he, loveing the lady very sincerely, was

much desyrous to know the successe of her voyage. Therfor, to kepe my promise, and to satisfye his earnest desyre, how soone I had reposed myself in Paris I did wreat to him a long letter, wherein I did show him as amply, as the succinctness of a letter could, how we arrived to Brusselle in good health. and without any misfortune, and how bent her Majestie was (when I advertised her of the ladyes arrivye) to give her cloathes, linnens, and al necessaries that she should nede befor she should appear at court; and that I (by the inspiration of her good angel, as I thought) tould her Majestie that she was cloathed so and so, which her Majestie judged reasonable enough to appear with, and appointed her to come upon the day of St. Catherine to see her Majestie in her owne chamber, and that her Majestie did feel seik upon the morrow, and departed from this lyff the first day of December; so that, if she had waited for new cloathes befor she had gone, she had never seen her Majestie at all, if she had not gone the very day appointed to her; and how her Majestie made the Counte de Noel. her maister household for that quarter, receave her honorably at the gate of the palais, and convoye her to the dore of her Majesties chamber, and made Madame de Montmoransye, her dame d'honneur, receave her ther, and bring her to her Majesties presence, wher she stayed a whole houre, and returned as she did come; and how her Majestie was myndful of her upon her deathbed, and made a codicile expressly for her, in which she ordeined that the first benefice that should vaik in Mons should be given to her, with exclusion of al others until she be provided; and that, of the moneyes gotten for her meubles, a found should be made to pay her an yearly pension of a thousand livres, and to be duely payed ever until she enjoye peaceably the fruits of her benefice. And how she did recommend her to the Archbishope of Machline, adjuring him, as he should be comptable to her at the last day, to be a father to her, saying that if she had lived, she would have bein her mother, and provyded her; and in what peine we were from the day of her Majesties death ever until her last wil was published; and that before Easter her pension was founded, and she in possession of it, the first half yeare therof being already payed to her by the hands of the Archbishope, who hath engaged himself by his promise, both to the Infanta and her, to be her procureur, and see her Majesties wil towards her duely executed.

This was al the substance of my letter, which the forsaid Laird of Craig did communicat to her sisters, my Ladye of Aboyne, and Ladye Margarite,

who, then a maid, lived with her sister, my Ladye of Aboyne, and they did send it to their brother, the Earle of Errole, Constable of Scotland, who, overjoyed that her voyage to the Low Contries had bein so honorable, contrary to the character that his frinds, as he called them, Mr. Forbes and Mr. Annan, had given him therof, did wreat to his sister, in Brusselle, congratulating with her for the good successe of her voyage, and prayed her to be very duetiful to me who had bein so real a frind to her, promising that if I ever came to Scotland, he would be my protecteur, and never suffer me to want so long as he should have whairwith to assist me; and of an arch knave, as he had both thought me and called me, I became, in his opinion, a very worthy and charitable preist and sincer frind. So changeable is human nature, and so easely moved to hatred or love, that the very shadow of a gnat flying before our eyes is able to make us love what we have hated, or hate what we have loved.

My letter did produce this effect in the harts of her brother and two sisters who did read it, making them now love whom before, upon an false information, they had greevously hated, and the quit contrary in hers, making her now hate me (without any just cause given by me) whom befor she appeared at least to have loved as a frinde; for when she receaved her brothers letter, she conceaved an great indignation against me, beleiving that I had wreaten to him, and in great passion did wreat to me to Paris, wherein she said that I was very bussie seeking thankses from her frindes for the service that I had done to her, and that I should have expected until such tym as she had wreaten to them, becaus her owne report would have bein better beleived, and more honorable for me then myn owne. I answered her, that I had not wreaten to non of her kindred, nor did not seik nather thankses nor reward from them, nor her nather; and that whatsoever service I had rendered her, I did it for God more then for her or them ather, whom I had never seinc, and therfor do attend his censure of my actions, who knoweth best what was my motive in doing them; and that if ever it please God that I go to Scotland, I shal abstean from her noble parents as much as I can, and that I did wreat only to the Laird of Craig, whom she did heare mak me promise to wreat to him, the successe of our voyage to Brusselle. I remained three yeares after that in Paris, bot had no more letters from her, nather did she ever so much as name me in her letters to her frindes in Scotland, so that if the Laird of Craig had not shoven them my letter, they had never knowen that ever I had done any

service to her ; so happy I am to serve thankful people. Yet this letter was the occasion by which I did come to be acquainted with her sister, my Ladye of Aboyne, of happy memory, a noble, liberal, and thankful ladye as ever lived, as I shal show heir after.

Now it is tyme to show how the ladye did get possession of her canonicat. The Cardinal Infanta, brother to the King of Spain, did come to governe the Low Contries, a wyse and valiant prince ; and soone after his arryve, ther died a chanoinesse in Mons. Her name was Biancour, a ladye of good familie, in Picardye. The Archbishope pleaded this benefice for Ladye Isabel Hay, according to the last wil of her Majestie, of happy memory. The ladyes chanoinesses pretended to have priviledge to exclud strangers put in against their willes, as this stranger ladye was. The Archbishope engaged the Prince in the busines, as supreme gouverneur of the contrie, and the cheiffe executeur of his tantes last wil. He delt with these ladyes at first by prayers, that they would receave her for his sake, and for the obligations that they had to his tante, who did them the honor to be their abbesse. They refused him, under the pretense of conscience, as being obliged in their consciences to mantean their priviledges. To which the Prince replied, that he would be as carefull of his conscience as they were of theirs, and commanded them to show him their priviledge that they pretended to mantean, and he would show them the last wil of his tante, which he was bound in conscience to see executed. They had no such priviledge to show him ; wherupon he commanded the Counte de Bouquoy, gouverneur of the towne, to put her in possession of her benefice, which he, to please theis ladyes, haveing married the sister of one of them, did delay, pretending seiknes. But the Archbishope suffered not patiently theise delays, and tould the Prince that theis delays that Bouquoy used were prejudiciable to the ladye pretendant ; wherfor the Prince Cardinal commanded Monsieur de St. Martin, a Spaniard, lieutenant gouverneur, to give her possession, and instal her in her benefice, with al the formalities requisit, which he did ; and the ladyes ranne al out of the queir and church, not to see her installed. This mariage was the accomplishment and explication of the dreame that her servante dreamed when the Infanta died, that she did see her Majestie going a farre voyage, and left her maistresse behind to the Cardinal Infanta, to marie her, which he did, with her benefice, when he made her be installed in it, and did mantean her in it against her ennemyes, until she acqyred the love of the other ladyes chanoinesses. through great patience.

Of the Services done to Dame Sophia, Countess of  
Aboyne, by Gilbert Blakhal, Preist.

CAP. II.

**FRANCIS**, Earle of Errol, Lord Hay, and Heritable Constable of Scotland, whos vertue, althought much yet never aneugh renouned, had with his Ladye, Dame Elizabeth Douglas,<sup>1</sup> daughter to the Earle of Mortoun, eleven children, three sonnes and eight daughters, to wit: William, who succeeded to him in his landes and honors; George and Francis, who died both in France. His daughters were Anne, Countesse of [Wintoun]; Jean,<sup>2</sup> Countesse of Marre; Marie, Countesse of Bucleugh; Elizabeth, Ladye Semple; Sophia, Countesse of Aboyne; Isabella, Chanoinesse of Mons, in Haynault; Margarette, Ladye Barnes; Helenne, who died young, betwixt twelwe and thretteine yeares, verteous and devote, above her age; much given to prayer, and did fortel the day of her death, three weekes befor it arrived. For when her sisters, who loved her out of measure, used to ask her in her seiknes, saying, sister, Helenne, wilt thou dye and leave us? her answer was, you shal know upon Our Ladyes day, the eighth of September, and no sooner. And that same day she called her three elder sisters, who were yet unmarried, to wit, Sophia, Isabel, and Margaritte, and did distribut her treasour among them, which was no thing other but devout things, bookes, beades, and images; wherof I have yet one, which I got from my Ladye Aboyne. And when she had taken her leave of them al, she said, now leave me til after denner, and then you shal know if I dye or not. And just at twelf, or midday, she departed from this world, which she tymously loathed; and used to say, I think the world ugly when I

<sup>1</sup> [This lady was his third wife. He married, first, Anne, youngest daughter of John, fourth Earl of Athol; secondly, Margaret, youngest daughter of James Earl of Moray, regent of Scotland, but had no children by either. Douglas' Peerage, vol. i., p. 550.]

<sup>2</sup> [According to Douglas, this lady's name was Christian. Peerage, vol. i., p. 550.]



think on heaven. O sweet heaven, thou art bonny. Her sister, my noble Ladye of Aboyne, of most happy memory, was nothing inferiour to her in nather of theis things, for she did know the day of her owne death six months befor she dyed, as I shal show heirafter. And this much for a preamble to the things that I have done for her service.

§ 1. How I came to be acquainted with this noble and vertuous Ladye.

If the letter above-mentioned, and which deprived me of the frindship of her sister, whom I had served, had not bein given to this ladye, she, nor non of al her noble parents, had not so much as ever heard of me; for she whom I had served did never name me in her letters to her frindes, which her sister, of whom I am now to speak, did tak in evil part. She was indeed a most thankful ladye, who never did forget any good office done to her, or any of hers. And this her gratitud was the occasion of our acquaintance, and of my engagement in her service.

In the year a thousand six hundreth and threttie fyve, in the month of October, Monsieur Dorsay, the consilior, (whom I had served four yeares, even until his death,) departed from this lyffe, and in his last wil did leave me two hundreth crownes. His heretiers were his owne brother, for the one halfe, and his nephew and niece, two children of his sister, for the other half. They did not dispute his pious legacies, but if his executeur had not bein a good and juste man, we al had bein frustrat of what was left us. The dead had left tenne or twelve thousand livres, readie money, in the custodye of Mr. Rigolet, and left him executeur of his wil. The heritiers would have had theis moneyes in their handes, promissing that they would pay the legataires; but the executeur tould them he would not decease himself of the moneyes until he had fulfilled the wil of the dead. They bid him kepe that much in his hand, and deliver them the rest. But he was both wyse and just, and would not suffer us, who were servants, to be defrauded, and would not give them a farthing until they had consented that the pious legacies be paid, to which he could not drive them befor the month of August following; and then I receaved my six hundreth livres, wherwith I resolved to go home, and, in the beginning of Septembre, 1636, did part from France.

At London, I did mete with Father Mortimer, a Jesuit, and with Alex-



ander Davidson, both going to Scotland. The poste was then in London, and very few people in the toune, which made us mak haste to go away. Each of us bought a horse for himself and went away, we three only in company; we were merry, and made a good voyage. When we came to Durham, Father Mortimer went and enquired for Mr. William Selbe, a Newcastle gentleman, whom he did find and Mr. Roger Viddrington together, uncle to my Lord Viddrington; he desired us to stay that night in Durham, and he would tak us a nere way the morrow, and put us within fyve myles to Scotland, which he did, for his owne hous, Herbatle Castel, was but fyve myles from Scotland; he did tak us first to Dilton, to Sir Edward Ratliffe his hous, where we loged that night, and were nobly enterteaned, and the next night to Herbatle, where we were treated siklyk. By the way betwixt Dilton and Herbatle, he, knowing that I was a preist, for I had said messe that morning at Dilton, did speak to Father Mortimer of me, and, knowing that I was no religious but secular, urged him to persuad me to stay with him at the least until Christmass were passed. He did as Mr. Viddrington desired him, and I consented therto. Upon the morrow, Father Mortimer and Alexander Davidson parted for Berwick, and he did give an angel to Father Mortimer, who, how soone he came to Scotland, published among the Catholickes that I stayed with Mr. Viddrington, and was of his opinion, and consequently heretik; and, therefor, if I should come to Scotland, I were to be exclud from the society of al Catholickes. I was advertised heirof by Mr. Smith, a secular preist, who, going over sea to be a Jesuit, did notwithstanding see me in his way, and tould me that I would not be receaved in no Catholick house until I should give a declaration of my faith unto the superiour of the Jesuits, in presence of others both Jesuits and laicks, and ther abjure the opinion of Mr. Viddrington concerning the oath of allegiance.

I did hear him very patiently until he had ended his discours, and then I asked if he said these things from himself, as my frind, haveing been scoole fellowes, or if he had order from these fathers to speak so? He answered, that he did it as my friend, but had no ordre to see me nor speak to me; but, knowing how they would use me, he would not neglect to advertisse me. I thanked him for his kyndness, and prayed him to wreat to the superiour that he had seen me, and tould me such things, and withal to tell him my answer, which is this: that oath is not put to us in Scotland, and, therefor, we nede not disput nor teach or preach about the

lawfulness or unlawfulness of it; therfor he and al his brethren wil do wel not to medle themselves therwith, but to live qyetly as long as they may, and not to move unprofitable questions, fitte only to mak division, without any edification to the hearers, who expect to heare us preache rather Christ Jesus and his doctrine, than the Pope and his power over princes, which he himself knoweth better than we, as he said to Father Santerello in Roome, who, by one chapter of his book of caises of conscience, put all his brethren in hazard to be banished out of France. This is my counsel as to my frinds, mak usse of it as they please. And to that which they pretend, that I should give them a declaration of my faith, I hope they wil not presooome to seik it, for their superiour is not so ignorant of his owne pouer as to think that it doth extend itself over the clergie. But, said he, if he should get comission from Rome to do so. In that case, said I, doutles I would appelle as from a great abusse, and, therfor, it were a chyldish thing for them to think that I would submit myself to them or any religious in that matter who are called to the hervest of our Lord to be helpers of the clergie, but not to be rulers or commanders, for we wil not acknowledge any such authority in them. And, to let you see that I feare no such things, how soone Mr. Viddrington shal come home from Londone, wher he is now, I shall, God willing, go home and see how they wil carye themselves towards me. He promised to wreat this answer to their superiour, as I believe he did.

The first day of August, 1637, I parted from Herbatle for Scotland, and that night lodged in Kelso, and the next in Edinburgh, where I stayed but three dayes, and from thence north to Aberdeine, and made my residence in the contries adjacent to Aberdein from the twelfth of August, 1637, until the midst of April, 1642, that I returned againe to France. Befor I did go into Aberdein, I did go to Grandame, to Alexander Hervie his hous, wher I learned who were Catholiks in Aberdein, and then went ther and did visit some of them, and from thence to the Bougge of Gicht, where I was not receaved. My principale motive of going ther was to borrow from Father Christy, then Superiour of the Jesuits, an chasuble for a week or two, until I could get some made to myself, but I could not obtean that, nor so much as bread to say messe. He spok nothing to me of my staying in Ingland with Mr. Viddrington, which made me belive that Mr. Smith had wreatten to him my resolution not to give them any compte of my actions, therfor they enquired non. I got not accesse but only to six

houses, to wit, Alexander Hervie in Grandame, near Aberdein, and in the Laird of Schives his house, and in Patrick Conne his house of Artrachye, and Robert Blakhal his house at the Little Milne of Crudenne, theise four in Buchan; and, in Strathbogie, Carnborrow his house, and in the Laird of Craig his house. I did go once every month to theise gentlemen, and loged one night with each of them, and al the rest of the tym I was constrained to loge in taverns, with my hors and my man, upon my owne charges, both in brough and land.

I did absteane from going to my Ladye of Aboyne, becaus her sister had said that I was very bussie seeking thanks from her frinds, as I have shoven above. Alexander Davidson, who was with Ladye Isabella Hay in Brus-selles when I was doing for her ther, and who did come with Father Mortimer and me from London to Herbatle Castle, and leaving me ther with Maister Widdrington, did think that I would never go to Scotland. When he arrived to Aboyne, my Ladye of Aboyne made her sister, Ladye Margaret Hay, who for the space of three yeares had thankfully kept my letter, show it to him, and he persuaded her, and would have persuaded my Ladye of Aboyne, but could not, that it was only he who had procured the canonicat for their sister, and not I; and that ther was not one word in all my letter true, whereupon she did throw it in the fire. Her sister, my Ladye of Aboyne, was very angrie at her for burning my letter, and said to her, if ever it please God that the gentleman come heir, I wil lay against you double to single that Alexander Davidson shal confesse the verity, and tel us that the Father and not he did for our sister al that was done, and she used a good and convincant argument to prove that I, and not he, had done the business of their sister, and her argument was this: sister, we say in a proverbe, that a dunme man never did winne a faire ladye; Alexander Davidson is such in regard of the Infanta, and of the noblemen that ruled the State after her death, for he knew nather Frenche nor Latine, nor they Scots. What language then could he speake to them, and, without speaking, what could he do or procure for our sister? Moreover, although he could have spoken, who would have given credit to the wordes of a clubish fellow lyk him in such a mater, which doth appartean rather to preists then to laicks. And hath he not confessed to us, that he never did see the Infanta living, but only upon her bed of parade, when her body was exposed to the view of the people. Was not the benefice procured from her befor her death, and not after? How did he procure it from her, whom

he never did see in lyffe? By all which you may see your owne erre in beleving so rashly him against al reason, to the prejudice of him who really has obliged us al in the behalve of our sister. Notwithstanding all this, he affirmed boldly that he had done for their sister al that was done, and that I had never medled in her affaires, and manteaned this esteame of himself, at least in the conceat of Lady Margaret, the youngest sister, for the space of a whole yeare, until he heard that I was come to the north.

He did go in November to Buchan, and ther, in Artrachie, he learned that I had bein their, and, at his returning to Aboyne, he tould my ladye that I was in the contrie, and then tould her and her sister that I was the man who had done for their sister, and that non other had medled theirin, and prayed them to be thankful to me, which indead they were. Whereupon my Ladye of Aboyne made him, being her domestick servant, wreat to me in her name, and pray me to come to her house, to the end that she might testifie her gratitude towards me for the good offices (as she was pleased to cal them) that I had done to her sister abroad. I receaved this letter in Grandame, but did not think for al that to go to sic her, nor no other of her kindred, for the reproch that her sister, whom I served, had made me four yeares befor, which was very fresche in my memory. Her brother, the Constable, was dead a whole yeare and more befor I did come to Scotland,<sup>1</sup> and ther were no mor in the north of their familie but them two sisters, and two other sisters in the south, the one a Catholick, to wit my Ladye Semple, and the other, a heretick, my Ladye Marre. My Ladyes Wenton and Buccleugh were dead long before.

My Ladye of Aboyne, seeing that I did not come at her upon her letter, did mervail what should be the cause thereof, and Alexander Davidson did tel her how her sister had reproached me for wreating the letter to the Laird of Craig, which he had made her sister burn; whereat she was very angry, and said her sister was impertinent to reproche to me such a thing, when she herself should have wreaten, and said, if we had not had the happiness to see that letter, we should never had knowen that we had any obligation to him, and so we al, as wel as she, should have remained unthankful to him, not through our fault, but through hers, which I shal reproche to her the first tyme that I shal wreat to her. Shortly after this, her oncle, by her husband, Father William Gordon, religious of the ordre

<sup>1</sup> [He died on the 7th December, 1636.]

of St. Bennet, brother to the first Marquis of Huntely, did come to her house. whome she engaged by promise to seek me out, and bring me with him to her house, which, to be short, he did, sore against my wil; but he did so presse me, showing the earnest desire of the most thankful of ladyes, that I could not resist unto him, although at that tyme (which was in November) I had more willingly gone in the water of Dyë, which glydeth by her house, to the cares; yet, I did fynd the ladye so discrete, kynd, and thankful, that I was surprised, hearing her civil and obliging compliments, no less wittye, but much more realle, than they can make who spend their whole lyffe at courtes, for her wit was very present, and her expressions very sincer. When she did mete us in the upper hall, she did embrace her oncle, saluting him, and said, deare oncle, you were ever welcome to me, but more now than ever, for bringing this gentleman to my house, whom I have so long desired to see, that I might, at least, thank him for the multitud of obligations that he hath put upon our whole familye, in the persoune of our sister, unto whome he hath bein not only a frind, but a most loving and provident father, which doth evidently appeare by the great paines that he hath taken, going from one kingdom to another, to procure a settlement for her, and, having obteaned, convoying her to it; and constantly, betwixt hope and dispare, solliciting for her until he had her provyded. I know our owne father loved us as much as any father can doe their children, and yet, I must confesse, that he neither could, nor would have done for any of us what this gentleman, a mere stranger unto us, hath done for her. I confesse, lykways, that I am not able to recompense his merits, they doe so far exceed my power, but I know he is generous anough to accept of our thankful harts, and sincer good wils, when our power may not correspond; yet, I wil promise this much befor you, myn oncle, and you shal beare witnes of it, that I shal never have a penny wherof he shal not have a part, if he wil let me know when he needeth any thing that I can give him. Both her oncle and I did humbly thank her ladyship, but I will not sette downe heir my answers, nor her replyes (which she had not to seek when she had usse for them), for that were too tedious. This is sufficient to show the gratitud of her noble hart, wherin she exceded all women, as I do belive; and thus did I come to be first acquainted with that noble ladye. The next paragraph wil show



§ 2. How I came to be engaged in the service of my Ladye of Aboyne.

My Ladye of Aboyne would not suffer me to go away from her house, for the space of ten or twelfe dayes ; her oncle would not stay ther but two or three dayes. At last, with difficultie I got leave to go away ; and, when I parted, she forced me to tak a very liberal charitie. Shortly thereafter, my Ladye of Frendret did send to me, praying me to come to her, to be her ordinary, for the *frere* whom she had befor was lately departed from this lyffe. I refused absolutely to see her, because she was suspected to be guiltye of the death of my Lord of Aboyne, who, seaven yeares befor, was burned in the castel of Frendret. Whether she be guiltye or not, God knoweth, for that hath not bein yet discovered. My Ladye of Murray did cal me to Elgin, in Murray, to be with her, because her ordinarie was lykewyse dead. I was willing to embrace that condition, and did mak the voyage. When I did come to the Bougge of Gight, a castel belonging to the Marqueis of Huntely, wher my Lady Huntely, the dowager, was living, I lodged in the village, because that ladye had refused before to receave me in her castel. My Ladye Murray being the daughter of my Ladye Huntely, I considered that she might easely be moved by her mother to put me away after that she had receaved me ; therfor I thought best to mak it go my Ladye Huntely her cares, that her daughter, my Ladye Murray, was myndful to mak usse of my service, esteameing the affront lesse to be holden out, then to be put out after that I were receaved ; and therfor I called for her maister household, Jhon Gordon, called Jhon of Berwick, and did comunicat my earand to him, who I knew would not faile to tel it to my ladye. He returned againe to me that same night, and tould me that he was to go the morrow to Elgin with me, to speak with the Earle of Murray. I did then perceive what would be the event of my voyage. When we arrived at Elgin, he did go the Earles loging, and I to an inne, wher I comanded our denner ; and he not coming to denner, I dinned, and sent my man, whos father was porter in the Earles house, to see what answer my lady would give me, who did send a waiting gentlewoman, to tel me that she could not give me accesse to her house at that tym, but desired to know wher she could find me, to send for me when she should neede me. I answered, that I was but newly come to



the contric, and had no settled residence, and therfor could not tel wher I should be found, and so we parted; and Father Grant was very soon thereafter put to that ladye, who died within that yeare.

I thought myself very happye thereafter to have bein refused, but returning from Elgin I was very nere drowned in the Water of Ylay. My hors did dumpe downe in a very deepe hole of a brook, at the entrie of the brook into the water. I was not myndful to passe over the water, but only over the brook, for the water was over al the bankes in a thaw. The hole was deepe and narrow, and my hors, seeking to go out, could not reach his former feet to the bank, but did fal backwards, and I under him, and ther we struggled a ful quarter of an houre; my head deepe under the water. I opened my mouth often tymes to have air to breathe, but found nothing but water, wherof I swallowed many mouthfull. Stil working mysel out under my hors, and seeking to win above him, did hold him downe with both my handes at the saddle, and he, so droven downe, did keepe me under him. until such tym as, he working on way and I another contrary, both the saddle girthes did bracke, and so the saddle came to me, and the hors wan to his feet, and, by the providence of God, he did go out against the stream, and I, holding him by the taille, did follow out; if he had gone with the streame he would have entered the Water of Ylay, and so perished, and I with him, for I would never have quyted him. When we were both at land, I did perceave my saddle and a grate valise tyed to it going downe towards the river; I did go in againe and draw it to the lande. Then I see my hat and a little valise of reed Spanish ledder, wherin was my masse vestments, swimming towards the river. I returned in once againe to the head, and brought them out, thinking with myselfe that the people and ministers would persuade themselves, finding these vestments, that some preist had been drowned in that river and rejoyce therat. I was more than a great myle from the house wher I intended to go, and al my clothes and bootes were sooped ful of water, which made me heavie to go on foote, and forced me to tak my hors; and when I was upon him, without any thing to tye my saddle to him, totoring from side to side upon his back, the cold (for I was trembling) forced me to tak me to my feet; so from hors to foote, and from foote to hors, many times changing, so I arrived nere the house wher I was going, and sent my man before me to know when I might come in; and the gentleman, knowing by my man what had befallen me, did send a man with an hors to bring me over another bigger

brook yet in my way; but he was so long in coming to me, that I had passed the brook befor he came at me, for the cold, which was lyke to kil me, did not suffer me to stay waiting for a guyd, although then every brook was become a river, and every river a sea; for the snow, before the thaw, did go to the midst of a mans theigh. When I did come in, the gentleman did give me dry cloathes and a good fire, and keeped me with him two dayes, until my owne cloathes were dried, and my linings washed and dried. This was in January.

At the midst of Lent, I did go to Aboyne, and when my ladye did see me, she did mak the signe of the crosse upon herself, thinking me a spirit, (we cal it in Scotland a writh,) for she had bein persuaded that I was drowned, but was very content that the newes of my death were false. She mad me stay ther until Easter, wher I made exhortations every Sunday, Tuisday, and Fredday, upon the Passion of our Saviour, which did please her and her domesticks, specially her maister cook, Alexander Lambe, who thereafter abjured his heresie befor me, and dyed some two yeares thereafter a devote Catholick. I did wreat two letters whilst I was ther to Father Androw Lesly, her ordinary, to come to his charge befor Easter, that I might go to some other place. He did not send me no answer, nor did he come befor six hours at night upon Easter Eve, and stayed but Easter Day, and went away againe upon Easter Monday, over the Water of Dye to Bellamore, and said messe ther, so I was forced to stay the holy dayes of Easter.

Ther wer some discontentments betwixt my ladye and Father Androw Lesly, which I perceaved indead, but, thinking myself a mere stranger to both, did not medle therwith, nor nather of them did then touche any thing thereof to me. Afterward, my ladye did tel me the subject, which I omit, as not perteaning to my purpose. At the Witson-tyde thereafter, he did go awaye from my ladye, and did never see her againe, although she lived nere fyve yeares after that. Some fyfteen dayes after he was gone, I did go to Aboyne, not knowing any thing of their discorde; nather did my ladye herself know that he was gone for good and al, until such tym as she was advertised that he had taken al his bookes, and other things that he had ther, to Grandame, and bid tel my ladye that he had taeken awaye what was his owne, and that she and her French Monsieur might provyd themselves if they would. These wordes did sufficiently show that her civility and charity towards me, whom he understood by the worde French

Monsieur, (for he called himself the Italian Doctor,) was the greatest cause of their discord, although ther was yet another; *for he would have had her hold me at her gate, as my Ladye Marquise of Huntley did*; which she would not do, nor never did hold any preist at her gate.

It is very credible that he did not abandon her, without order of his superiour; and my reason is this. I did see, by experience, that they abandoned al others who receaved me in their houses, and made use of me, such as Robert Blakhal at Cruden, Patrick Conne of Artrachie, who did give to Father Christy a yearly pension of forty markes, for comeing to him when he pleased, who did not go mor ther, after he knew that I had been receaved in the house, and yet requyred his pension, which the gentleman refused to paye, unless he would come and worke for it, as he had done befor; which he would not, and therfor wanted it for the space of four yeares at the least. Nather did they go to Shives nor to Carneborrow al theise tymes, which obliged me to go once every month among them, and that very nere gratis; for, except from my cusin, Robert Blakhal, I had not from al the rest the valeur of two double angels, to put it altogether, in fyve yeares that I was in Scotland, except my enterteanment for a night at a tym, myself, my hors, and my man; or some tymes, but very seldom, two nights and one daye. Heir I doe except my Ladye of Aboyne, because, from once I did enter in her service, I was enterteaned in al things necessarye for myself, my hors, and my man, by her liberal charitie; who, morover, did bestow upon me a more than sufficient viaticke, when I did visit the neighbour Catholicks, so that I was not chargeable unto them for mor then my foode and loging, with my man and hors. And to some poor people (whom I did help and comfort as oft as the richer) I did bestow, by her order, enterteanment for the tym that I was with them, and something over; wherof I was but the distributer, for she was the giver.

Now, to leave this short, but not superfluous digression, and retorne againe to my exclusion from the greatest houses, except only my Lady of Aboyne her hous, whom I was so loath to importune, because she had her owne ordinarie preist, Father Androw Lesly, that I did not go to her but only three tymes from the midst of November, 1637, until the midst of June, 1638, seaven ful months; being, I say, debarred from those who could bestow charity upon me, I was forced to spend what I had gotten in France for my service ther. I resolved to retorne ather to England,

to Mr. Widdrington, as he at our parting had prayed me to doe, if I fand no establishment in Scotland ; or, if he had another preist with him, to France, so long as I had moneyes to mak my voyage. So, with this intention, I did tak my leave of my frinds, beginning at Aberdein, and from thence to Grandhame, wher I did communicat my designe to Father Androw Lesly, who, although my cusin, did not tel me that he was come away for good and al from my Ladye of Aboyne. So powerful is diversity of opinions to bread coldness even among kin friends. From thence I did go to Cruden, to Robert Blakhal, who, fearing that I should lye upon him when I wanted of myn owne, did approve my designe, and his wyff was not much my frind ; from him to Patrick Conne of Artrachie ; and from thence to Schivese ; and then to Strathboggie, wher ther wer many poor Catholickes ; to Carneborrow, to whom I had great obligation for keeping me in his house, with my man and hors, a whole month, in the great storme of snow the winter before, at the thaw of which I was nere drowned, as I did show heir above. From him I did go to Craig, and from thence to my Ladye of Aboyne, whom I did leave for the last adieu, thinking to crosse the water of Dye, and the great monthe over against her house.

When I did come their, about the midst of July, 1638, to tak my leave of her ladyship, I did not know that Father Androw had left her for good and al, because he was accustomed to go often tymes away evil content, and was but seldom with her, yea, some tymes he stayed away fyve or six monthis together. I began to discover my design to her ladyship ; then she tould me how Father Androw had sent her word that he would come no more at her, and bidde her provyde herself with her French Monsieur of such things as he had taken away, because they were not hers, but did pertean to their mission. I was indead astonished ; for, although I did know him to be of a beiarre humouer, yet I never would have thought that he would have left such a place of residence ; for although my Ladye of Aboyne had but a smal rent, in comparison of my Ladye Marquise of Huntley or my Ladye Murray, yet she had a more noble and generous hart than any of them, and kepted a good house ; and gave power to her preist to send his man to the kitching and choose upon the speit what peice or peices he should think would please his maister best, and that peice or peices, were send to his chamber to him when they were rosted, oftentimes befor my ladye did dynne or suppe, which the preists could not doe in the houses of theis other ladyes, nor in no other house in al Scotland, nor Ing-

land nather, I belive ; for, in great houses, if the preists eat in their privat chambers, they must stay til the ladye send them from the table, upon trenshers, such peices as she pleaseth. I have seen this done in England to preists eating in their chamber ; and John Thomson, who served my Ladye Marquise, tould me the Fathers weré served so upon trenshers in her house, and her daughters, my Ladye Murray, so that I admired when my ladye tould me he had gone away from her who treated him better than he could be in any other house in Scotland.

Then she beganne to urge me to stay with her, showing me, that since he did leave her for receaving me so wel, rather then for any other cause, although he does indead pretend another, which, said she, I shal tel you afterwards, and mak you judge if he had reason or not. I was loath to embrace that charge, fearing to be soone put out of it (as indead I would have bein if she had not shoven greater constancie in her resolution then I did persuade myself that she could have done, as I shal show heirafter), and therfor I did mak great difficulty to accept of it ; and for the reason of my refusing it, told her that it would give theis Fathers an appearand subject to mak plaints of me, and say that I have under mynded them, and subtilly wrought them out of their place which they have holden many yeares, and possessed peaceably until my comeing in the contrie, who, for the smal service that I have done to your sister abroad, have insinuated myself so farre in your good grace that I have supplanted Father Androw out of his possession. I know, madame, they will make plaintes of me in this kind, and sturre heaven and helle and medle earth until they get me out againe. No, Father, said she, they cannot do so with honesty, for I did not put my ordinary away from me, but he did leave me, untould me that he would not come againe til eight or tenne dayes after he was gone awaye. If I had put him away, he might suspect that you had supplanted him, but going away of his owne resolution, without any displeasour received from me or myn, for I did never look wors upon him since your comeing heir than before ; but he hath casten downe his countenance at me, and never hath bein content since you came heir. Therfor he cannot, with reason, complain of me, or of you who have never wronged him, but of his owne froward humeur.

And as to your feare that they wil mak such sturring to get you out againe, they shal not prevail if you carie yoursel wel, as I hope you wil ; but if you give scandal at home or abroad, you shal not imput our separa-



tion to them or to me, but to your owne selfe. But, madame, said I, it wil be better for you to reconcil yourself with your owne ordinary, and let me go wher I am better knowen then I am heir, specially since your father and mother, of happye memory, and yourself, ever since you have keped house, have served yourselfe of these Fathers, for it wil be thought strange if you make usse of any other. I know, said she, they wil not come at me any more, unles it be upon termes which I can not performe; and, therfor, if you leave me, I shal be in a wors casse then if I were in Turkye, wher I might, perchance, get some exercise of my religion, and heir I shal get none, for ther be non but they and you in this part of the contrie. And saying theis wordes, in Turkye, the teares cam tumbling downe her cheekes. They wil not come mor at me, as I know, and you wil not stay with me, in whom I put my trust. When I did see myself abandoned by my ordinarie, and said to my sister and to Allexander Davidson that God had send you home to this contrie for my comfort, perswading myself that you, who have been so faithful and constant a frind to my sister, in strange contries, would not abandon me at home, which if you doe, I shal be the most desolate widowe in the whole worlde, without any consolation, either spiritual or temporel; the teares falling stil downe her face, which pearsed my hart beholding them, and made [me] say, almost against my wil, Madame, I can not endure longer seeing your teares, but must yeald unto your desire. I shal stay with you; find a better, and I shal be content then to receave my leave, and go my way; for the worst is but to undergo the humiliation to be made a sacrifice unto the passions of others, which I had rather endure than leave your ladishipe in this affliction. So I entered in her service, and continoued until I did see her give up her happy soule into the hands of her blessed Maker and Redeemer; wherof I wil say more in its owne place; for it is now tyme to show what services I did rendre her, which this ensuing paragraphe wil doe.

### § 3. Of the services that I rendred to my Ladye of Aboyne.

I entered in the service of this truly noble and religious ladye, about the midst of July, 1638. In the first beginning, I caried myself as a stranger, as indeed I was; yet I perceaved sindry things which, to my weak judgment, appeared to nede reformation. I did eat in my chamber, as they who wer befor me used to doe. Four dishes of meat was the least that was



send to me at every male, with ale and wyn conforme, which I thought superfluous; but, knowing the noble disposition of the ladye, who gave the ordre herself for al the tables, as wel of her servants as her owne, I would not so soon uter my mynd, until I should know better how my admonitions would be received. I asked my man what was done with the reliets of my table? He answered me bouldly, that he sould them, and said the relietes of the preistes was due unto their men. When I did hire you, said I, did I promise you such casualities? No, sir, said he; but it is the custome of this house, as al the servants wil beare witnes. They are fooles, said I, and not capable to beare witnes, who give testimony to their owne prejudice. What prejudice is that to the, said he? My ladye doth bestow the meate upon you, and asketh no compte of it bak againe; so what you leave, I think, should be for me, rather then for any other bodye. If I did buy the meate, said I, myself, were I bond to give you al that rested over my own suffisance, so that I could not bestow it any other way, after you had gotten your suffisance of it? No, said he; you might dispose of it at your owne pleasour, and so doth my ladye, who wil that your man get what you leave. No, said I; my ladye wil, and I lykwayes, that thou carry to the kitching al that I leave, both meate, bread, and drink, that al may serve the comon table; and go you to it, and ther tak your part of al, as the others doe; and if thou deturne any thing another waye, thou shalt not serve me one houre longer. I tould my ladye afterwarde this dialogue which passed between my man and me, wherat she did laugh wel: and this did acquyr to me the affections of the servantes, who groundged, but could not mend it, for they knew that my ladye would not tak notice of such basse things, much less correck them.

Afterwarde, speaking with my ladye about her affaires, I said to her, Madame, I think you keep one table more than you nede, for I had rather eat at the table with your servants than suffer you to be at so much unnecessare expenses as I see you are at for me. You shal be very welcome, answered she, not indead to eat with my servants, but with myself and my child. I did mak this offer to others heir befor you, but they would not accept of it. So from thenceforth I did go publickly to the table, and walked abroad publickly, and the people were no more curious to see the preist, as they used to be when he kepted himself closed up in his chamber, which I could not endure; for one of the people did tel another which was the preists chamber, and, if he opened bot his window, they did runne to

get a sight of him, as of a monstrous thing. They did so to me at the beginning, but I did very soon remede their curiosity, showing myself to them more then they desired, for ther was no man in all the parish better knowen than I, nor better loved by the best sort, notwithstanding the opposition of our religion, except one gentlewoman, called Janette Forbes, wyffe to George Dorwart, who said to my owne man that she hoped to wash her hand in my harts blood. When he asked what evil had I done her, she answered, too much, seeing he is a preist. If you have no other cause to hate him, said he, your hatred is not to be regarded.

I never desired to inger myself into the affaires of any personne unrequyred, but beholding the infidelity of this noble ladyes servants, in whom she trusted too much, I could not see her so undermined, untould her how each of them were striving to mak themselves up some fortune by the ruin of her estat, and some that had not so much providence cared nather for her wel nor their owne, but thought themselves happye enough that they could lavishly spend upon her means, without any further benefeit to themselves. Mr. [Adam Strachan] had governed her house, in quality of master household, many yeares, and [John Thomson] as butler; they both, haveing nothing of their owne, plenished with her meanes, labourings we cal the roomes, to themselves, and left her much in debt, which she thought had been payed; but they, turning to their own usses her moneyes, gave her creditures only interests, and pacified them with the expectation of their principals at the next termes, and so let the principal runne on until they were away from her service, and then her creditors puting at her for their principals, she did find herself in a condition hard enough; for theise her doers, or rather undoers, mad the proverbe true which sayeth, Evil wonne, il waired. They both had their labourings upon water sydes, Jhon Thomson, upon Spey in Murray, nere Comrie; and Mr. Adam Strachan, upon Donsyde, at Glenkyndie; and one and the same debording of waters, through excessive raines that did fal in the harvest, did carry away the cornes from them both. Mr. Adam Strachan lost his cornes but saved his catel, which his owne brother, Glenkyndie, did tak for the rent of his roome, seeing no other way to be payed; and the water of Spey did carry away from John Thomson at once both corne and catel to the sea, which was within a quarter of a mile to him. So she could not expect any reparation from them of the damages that they had done her. Nather would her tender hart have suffered her to exact her owne from them, althought they had bein able, be-

cause the one, to wit, Mr. Adam Strachan, had bein preceptor to her husband, and Jhon Thomson his man, for she loved every thing that had any relation unto him. And this was her condition when I did come to her service. I shal show heirafter what meanes I used to get her debts payed, but I wil first shew the spiritual service that I rendered her, and then the temporal.

Now, to proceed heirin the more clerely, I wil follow the order of the epithets or titles that she gave me when she did speak of me to her best, at least noblest, friends, for I did never see any other of her own kindred or of her alliance that deserved the title of freind in her regard, for they did al abandon her when she had most nede of their friendship. The titles that she was pleased to give me were theis, to wit, He is my priest, my chamerlane (in England they are called stuartes whom we in Scotland cal chamerlanes), and the captaine of my castil; and concluded, saying it was God who hath sent him to me for my support, for I would have bein in an hard casse er now if he had not come to me. Theis were her owne wordes, and becaus al the service that I did her were done in quality of one or other of these titles, I shal rank each of them under their owne titles, and because it would be tedious to read so much, without distinctions, as this paragraph wil arrive unto, I wil give unto every title its owne article.

*The first Article of the word Preist.*

Now, to beginne at the worde preist: she did avouch, and so did al the Catholicks that were in her house and neighbours to her, that she had never any preists that were so careful of her soule as I was; for, as you may remember yet, I failled very seldome to say messe to her and for her, every day, and preached to her and her household, and nighbours, and tenants, who were Catholicks, every Sunneday and holiday, and once every month she did confesse, and receave forby all the great feastes of the yeare, which was not usual to her befor I did come to her service; for, as she herself, and also her domesticks, tould me, they who were with her before me, used to go away very far of, even to the high landes, untould her wher they were going, or when they intended to returne, yea, unbidding God be with her, for they thought it a point of great wisdome to kepe their voyages secret from every bodye, so as non should know wher they wer going, or when they would returne. I confess I thought better for me to show my owne foolish simplicity herein, and be at my hazard upon the accidents that might follow upon the knowledge

that I gave her (who was as secret as any could be) of my voyages, and of my retoure, and therefor I did never go any way from her ungiveing her a note be wreate, showing wher I was going, and wher I might be found every day or night until I did returne againe to her housse, so that she did know ever wher to send for me, and undoubtedly find me, if she needed me befor my returning; and tould her what day precisely I would returne, and never failed to kepe my day, although it should be midnight and more before I could returne, as for the most part it was, because I knew that she would apprehend that I wer tacken prisonnier if I did not returne at the day appointed. My cours was not very great, but only from her house of Aboyne to Aberdein, two and twenty miles, wher I did confesse and communicat al the Catholiks that were ther; and from Aberdein to Buchan, a mater of nyntein or twenty miles, wher I had but fyve Catholick houses to go to; Blaire, ten miles from Aberdein; and Shives, fyve or six miles from Blaire; and Gicht, as farre from Shives; and Artrachy, nynne or tenne myles from Gicht; and Cruden, six myles from Artrachy; and the distance betwixt theis houses obliged me to stay a night in each of them to say messe, confesse, communicat, and exhort the Catholicks be way of a short preaching; and from Buchan to Strathboggie, wher I used to stay but three or four nights, the first in the village, they cal it the Rause, in Robert Rinne his house, an hostellerye, wher the poor Catholicks convened; the second in Carneborrow, wher Neulesly and his daughter did come to me, and sometimes I did go to Neulesly his house; the third night to Craigge, six miles from Carneborrow, and Carneborrow is four myles from Strathboggie; and last to Aboyne back again, through the Cuishney hilles, as wyld a part as is in al Scotland, which I have crossed many times at midnight al alon, when I could not see whether I was in the way or out of it, but trusted my hors, who never failed nor fanted in the way.

Theis my punctualities pleased so my good lady, that oft tymes she said, now, I may say with truth, that I have a preist, because aither he is within my house, or I know wher to find him whenever I nede him, which befor I could never say, for if my preist was one week with me, he was well tenne from me, and then cheafly when I had most ned of him in my seikness, and did not know wher to send to seik him, although I should have given up my ghost, as many times I was lyk to do it in his absence; but I hope, so long as this man shal live, I shal not be so destitut of spirituall comfort, which is al the consolation that I have, or do expect in this world. She was very

seikly before ever I had the honor to see her, and had bein divers tymes very seik in the tyme of her widowhead, which did beginne the nynthe of October, according to the ould accounte, 1630, and continued until her death, the twelffe of March, in the same account, 1642, but she had no seikness, worthy to be called seikness, until the twelffe of September, 1641, at which tyme she did find herself unwell, which indisposition did grow daily more and more, and cam to be a languishing fever befor Christmass, and daily waxed stronger and she weaker, until it did tak her away, to my great regrate and the losse of al the Catholicks, both pouer and rich, in that part of the contrie, but especially the pouer, whom she did protect by her authority and succour by her meanes. I am persuaded you have not yet forgotten, madame (for you wanted not two months of thretteine yeares when she dyed), how careful I was, both of her body and soule, in her seikness; how I watched every night at her bedside until two houres after midnight, and, when she sleped, I retired to my chamber, wher I weped longer tyme than I slept; and how soone I awacked, returned againe to her to comfort her, although myn own hart was very comfortless, yea, more than I did shew, fearing to discomfort her. She confessed and received the blessed sacrament every weke in her seikness, preparing herself for an happy end; and, at the end of every confession, befor she would rise from her weak knees, she said, her hands joined. Now, Father, I recommend to you my fatherlesse child, going now to be motherless. I pray you continou towards her the charitie you have practised upon me since ever I was so happye as to have you with me. I know she wil be put to hereticks to pervert her, and, therfor, do not abandon her among their handes, but visit her, and comfort her, and keepe her in the Catholick religion, and save her soule, for God's sake, if you can. Now, whether or not I have bein myndful of this recommendation (which she, good and pious ladye, did redouble as oft as her confession), and done my duty therein, the reader wil know by that which I am to say of the services which I rendered to yourselfe, for her sake. And now, to conclude this sadde discours, I had my hand upon her head, and gave her the last absolution immediately befor her last breath did go out, and the next day blessed earth, and did lay of it under her, and above, and at every syd of her in her chest; and preveinning her publick burial, did bury her privatly in her chest, with Catholick ceremonayes, and so did finish the services that I was able to do her in the quality of a preist.



*The second Article of the word Chamberlane.*

I have shoven above what we meane and understand by the word chamberlane, which I nede not repeat heir, and I have also shoven in what caisse were her affairs left by Mr. Adam Strachane, who, after he had made himself up, married her gentlewoman, Barbara Hay, and, after some years, did come to my ladye seiking a tochar for his wyffe, he called it a recompense for her good service, and another for his own; and my good ladye, haveing pitie upon them, and forgetting the damage he had done her, gave them her bond for fyve hundreth markes; and through that same tendernes of her hart, did give another bond for as much to Agnes Gordon, who did not serve her halfe of an year, but left her betwixt termes, and served my Ladye Marqueis of Huntly; and she, through that same pitie of younge mades destitute of provision, did give another bond for as much to Bellamor, with Helen Hay, sister to the forsaid Barbara. Al theis donations were given, but not payed, thats to say, they were promised, and bonds given for them, befor I did come to her service.

I am not a man of intrigue, who love to medle in any bodyes affaires, specially unrequyred. Notwithstanding, how soone I had learned the hard caisse of her affairs, procciding in a part from her owne to great bonte and liberality, and from the infidelity of some of her servants, and the carelessness of others, I did indead medle myself very earnestly in all that did concerne her, both within and without the hous. And to remede, first, the inward evil, which was an excessive depense of meille and malt, by the lavishnes of a foolish boy; I cal him so, althought he was passed twenty-four yeares, because he had no more wisdome then a child. His name was Patrick Kinman; he was butler, and spent what he pleased in the pantrie, which was open to all that would keep him company til midnight. It was right under my chamber, and I did heare them both day and night ther. Befor I would speak to my ladye therof, I desired Alexander Davidson to heare his comptes, and to put order to his spending. You do scorne, said he, when you speak of him making a compte; he never did nor can mak other compt but item, al is spended, as David Maxwel did of the rentes of the Milne of Bountye; when he was called to make compt of the mouters of that milne, he could give no other compte but al is spended. They have nothing to loose, nather have they honor to be ashamed of reproches. Then the only remede is, said I, to send them al away, and mak a new household. as they do in France with incorrigeable servants.



Wherupon I did speak to my ladye, and with great difficulty persuaded her to put away Kinnan; with great difficulty, I say, because she was very loath to cheange any servantes, and this Kinnan, because he was something in kinred to the Laird of Hill, in the Carse of Gowrie, a vassal of her fathers, wher she had bein weined and brought up in his house until she was six years old, and therfor loved al that perteaned any way to that family. And for David Maxwel, she wold not consent to put him away, because he was the first footman that ever served her, and was become old and could not earne his living. So her compassion of the miserie he would fal into made her kepe him, considering that his owne drinking would not be considerable, if she gotte an honest pantryman, who would not receive indifferently al those whom he might bring in. Shortly heirafter, in the octave of the Assumption of Our Lady, she did go to the Bogge of Gight to see her mother-in-law, my Ladye Marqueis of Huntly, and to go from thence a pillgrimage, two milles, to Our Lady of Grace, in Murray land. It had bein of old a very devoute place, and many pillgrimages had bein made to it, from al the partes in the Northe of Scotland; but then there was nothing standing of it but some broeken walles, which the minister made throw downe within the chappell, to hinder the people to pray there; a great devotion of their holy Covenant, rebellious both to God and their King. She used to make that pillgrimage every year so long as she had health to do it, a mater of threttie milles from her owne house, wherof she made two of them afoot, and barefooted, next to the chappel.

When she was in the Bogge of Gight, she seing Jhon Thomson redacted to that miserie that he thought himself happye to be porter there, almost naked, her pityful hart made her forgette, or, shal I say forgive, his former infidelity, and tak him once againe to be her butler and cellerman. I waited so wel upon him that he was faithful aneugh, until such tym as she made him both maister houshold and chamberlane, that is, receiver of her rentes, and made Thomas Grant, an honest and faithful servant, butler. Then Thomson, finding greater scope to his infidelity, played the knave egregiously, as I shal show heirafter.

How soon Patrick Kinnan was away, and Thomson in his place, I thought upon some way to get my ladye out of debt. But before I would speak of it to my lady, I would be seur that it would succeed to my mind; and therfor I did go to Buchan to my cousin, Robert Blackhal, a man who could assist me wel in that business, haveing good meanes of his owne. I

did communicat my mind to him, which was this. I intend, said I, to borrow from some of my frinds a thousand livres, and put thereto another thousand livres. of her owne rent, which wil be brought in at Mertimesse next, and therewith pay three thousand markes to theis of her creanciers who are threatening to compryse her joyntour, to pay themselves; for they cry out most pityfully for the want of their moneyes; and at the next Mertimesse following, pay theise thousand livres, with as much as I shal make be sauved of her owne rentes; for I have taken a cours to get that much sauved yearly, until her debyts be payed. My cousin approved my designe, and said to me, I have not moneyes myself to lay out at this terme, but I am resting two thousand livres to our cousin, Alexander Blackhal of Finnersye, which I have readye to paye him; ask from him one thousand. He will be loath to put his moneyes in the hands of my ladye, because she, being only a lyffe renter and a seikly ladye, she may dye befor he be payed, and so loose his moneyes. To which I answering, said, she hath a full yeares rent due to her after her death, for she was in her fathers house at the Bownes when the deulful murther of her husband did fal out; her father would not suffer her go to her owne house, wher her sad deul and melancholy could not but incesse in her solitude, and, therfor, he keped her with himself until he dyed, more then a yeare of her widowhead, so the whol rent of that yeare did remain in the hands of her tenants, who ar al soufficient men, able to pay for two yeares together, if it were nedeful. He knew this to be true, and said, wel, show him sufficient security for his moneyes, and, if he mak much difficulty, as I hope he wil not, I shal rather borrow as much, and lenne to you upon your owne word, then suffer your so honest designe faille.

I, much rejoyced of this so friendly dealing of my cousin, returned homeward, and, in my way, did go to Finnersye, and ther did trye the frindshippe of my other cousin, Alexander Blakhal, proponing to him my intention of borrowing his moneyes for the usse of my ladye, who said very honestly, cousin, I know you would not have me loose that mutch; therfor, show me how I shal be payed againe, and you shal have them most willingly. I did show him that my ladye had a whol yeares rent to exact of her tenants after her death, which behowed them to pay to her heretiers or creaditors, if she were owing any debts; and did show him the reason therof, because in the beginning of her widowhead she had lived with her father the first yeare and more, and so left that yeares

rent in the handes of her tenantes, as I have shoven above ; and he, perceiving therby that he could not be a looser, if one or more of her tenantes would become caution for the moneyes, said, mak one or more of the most sufficient of her tenantes bind themselves cautioners, and I shal bring the moneyes to my ladye in her owne housse. I prayed him to come to Aboyne, and speak with my ladye herself, within tenne days. I sought that much tym to dispose the tenants whom I knew would be refractory.

When I cam to Aboyne, I tould my ladye my designe, and how much it was advanced, wherof she was very joyful. And the next day called for three of her tenants, to wit, Mr. Robert Coutts at the Milne of Gellen, and Malcolme Durward at the Milne of Bounty, and James Gordon at the Milne of Desse, persuading herself that one or other of those three would oblige themselves for her ; which, notwithstanding, nather of them would do in solid for the whole soome, fearing, because she was seekly, almost consoomed with melancholy, that she might dye befor the moneyes were repayed ; and we had much adoe to get them persuaded to oblige themselves conjunctly, but not severally, that is to say, each of them for a thirde part of the soome, to wit, fyve hundreth markes, but not for any more. This way of proceeding did not please Allexander Blackhall, and he said to me, I wil tel you, cousin, my ladye hath very unthankful tenants. Mr. Robert Couttes is a traitour to her, he hath done what he could to detourne me from lening my moneyes to her, and would have assured me that I would never be payed of them. I know he did so to exempt himself of the cautionrie. But put him to it, for I am resolved to lenne the moneyes to my ladye, upon what score so ever. I had rather losse the soome befor she or you ather should be so affronted as to want moneyes for want of cautioners. I shal rather lette her have them upon her owne bond, without any caution. And so he tould to my ladye herself. But she thanked him kyndly, and said, they shal bind for me, or go out of my landes at Witsonday next.

James Gordon at the Milne of Desse made the greatest opposition, and did swear a great oath that he would not put his hande to a penne to oblige himselfe for any body, unlesse he should first see that he should not be a looser. Come, James, said I, and I shal show you cleerly that you nather shal nor can be any looser. Is it not true, said I, that you and al the rest of my ladyes tenants are a whole yeare behind in paying her their rentes ? As for example, now at Martinmesse, 1639, for what year

do you pay? For 38, said he. Then you are resting two years. No, but one, said he. How so, said I, have you payed for 38? No, said he, but am to paye it now. And, said I, is not 39 due now? Doth not al other landlords exact now their rents for 39? Yes, said he. And why not may my ladye do the lyke, said I? She doth let a whole yeir runne on to us, said he. But, said I, may she not constrain you by law and justice to pay both theis yeares together now? She may, said he, if she please to be rigourous, but she wil not be so rigoureuse as you would mak her. Not I, indead, James, said I, but you who refuses to bind for so smal thing, which, in justice, she might mak you paye presently. I know what maketh you so affrayed to oblige yourselves; you think she may dye within the year, and leave you caution for her. But, suppose it should arryve, which God forbid, what domage could you sustean therby, if you get an assignation to the next yeares rent, and the tenants commanded to pay their silver rents to you, and inhibition made to them to pay to any other bodye. But, said he, my ladyes chamberlane wil be ever lifting moneyes from the tenantes for my ladyes usse, as they are accustomed to do. Nay, said I, my ladye wil have no other chamberlans this year for her silver rent but only yourselves; and you shal be declared her chamberlanes at the first courte, and the tenants advertissed to pay to you, and to none others.

Now, said I, gentlemen, I believe you sie that you can be no lossers in doing this pleaseur of my ladye; therfor choose you whither you wil do it, or oblige my ladye to constrain both you and al the rest of her tenantes to paye now at this same terme two yeares duetyes together; for of necessity she must have moneyes, and ther is no other way to get them but one of theis two, ather to borrow, sparing her tenantes, or to exact her owne from them, althought it should be to their losse. They, sieing themselves so pressed, went to a window they three, and consulted together, and then said they would willingly doe that pleasour to my ladye, provyding that al were performed which I had promised in my ladyes name, befor they subscribed. My ladye commanded her notar, Robert Steven, to wreat first the assignation of the next years silver rent to them, and, at the tale of it, a precept to the tenantes to paye their silver rentes for that yeare to them, with inhibition to paye them to any other bodye, which, my ladye having subscribed, they did subserbye cautioners for the moneyes, and so they were delivered to my ladye, and she did send them, with another thousand

livres which were sauved of that yeares rent, to Aberdeine, and payed at that terme of Martimesse three thousand markes, which did her a great pleasour, paying at that tym the most urging debtes; and the next yeare I and John Thomson caried to my cousins own house eleven hundreth livres, to wit, a thousand for his principal soome, and an hundreth for his interest from 1639 to 1640, and received my ladyes bond from him; and the year therafter, to wit, 1641, she payed her donations, wherof I did speak above. which did aryse to another thousand livres. And this is the ground wherupon she did found my chamberlanshippe.

This care that I did tak of her temporal affaires did procure for me the favour of al who loved her, yea, even the ministers that heard of it became my frinds in some way for her sake, and said publickly, that since they knew she would not be without a priest, they would rather suffer me with her than another, who, lyk aneugh, would not be so careful of her welfaire, and they never troubled me so long as she lived, althought they knew me wel aneugh, and did know when I did go away to mak my visites.

Now, it is tym to show that which I said above, that John Thomson. in the end, played the knave egregiously. For my ladye, thinking that he would now prove honest, as he had begunne, made him her maister household, and receaver of her rentes for the last year of her lyffe. Then he began to be a trafficker of horses, of cattle, of victual, meille, and malte, al which he bought with her moneyes receaved from her tenantes, for her usse, as he said, but really made his owne usse of them, and not hers; for when she had adoe with moneyes, he said he could not gette a farthing from the tenantes, and did come upon me, knowing that I would not have moneyes and suffer her to want anything necessary to her. and specially in her seiknes. So he was ever borrowing from me, now tenne, then twentie, then fyfteine livres, and so forth as long as I had any, promising ever to render them to me, so soone he could draw money from the tenantes, which he never did, nor ever thought he to restor them. But this was but litle mater to trafick with her moneyes when she herself had nede of them, and could not have them, if he ever rendred them to her. But in place of rendring them, he made her buy her own victual, both meille and malte, eight and fourty bolls, half meil half malt, at tenne markes the bolle of meille, and twelf the malt, that was fyve hundreth and twenty-eight markes in one article.

When Alexander Davidson and I, admyring, said to him, how cometh



it that my ladye should nede to buy victual this yeare, having keped no greater house this year than the two years by past, when she sould as much as now she hath bought, and nather was the number of her household nor the number of strangers greater this year than the former yeares? he answered us, very confidently, that he was ready to mak his comptes, and then it would appear how every thing had bein spent. And, to cover his knavery, he debauched the backer, James Beine, and the brower, Jhon Combenne, both hereticks. If Alexander Lambe, the maister cooke, who was an very faithful servant both to God and man, had bein living, he would never have gotten his knavery covered so as he did. For he made the backer grant the recette of so many bolles of meille, and the brewer the recette of so many bolles of malt, and made the butler grant the recette of the bread and barrells of beer, and al conforme to the bolles of meille and malt; and he, as maister household, had approved of their comptes. I said above that he made my ladye buy her own victual, which I show thus. He said to my ladye, and others, that he had bought that victual in the Enzee, a mater threttie long milles from Aboyne. Wher got he horses, so many as could bring that victual so farre of threttie miles going, and as much coming, wherin they could not employ lesse then four dayes, and we never heard of any horses lent to him. Wherfor it appeareth cleare anough that he left in the hands of the tenantes so many bolles of victual, perteaning to my ladye, which the tenantes concealed, for a litle present to themselves; and he, being receaver of the silver rent as wel as of the victual, did pay himself, houlding in his owne hand as much silver as the victual did come to; so that, in one item, he did steal 528 markes. And how many quarters of beuffe, and sydes of mouton, and douzains of poultrie, did he passe that same way? In one word, he raised the expenses of that yeare to the double of former yeares. My ladye deserved, in some maner, to be so deceived, because wilfullye, against my wil and Alexander Davidsons wil also, she would put al her rents and the government of her house in the hands of a knave, who had before stolen her goodes, and, if she had lived but three yeares more, would have put her as farre at under as ever she was, unlesse she had put him away from her. He having made some meanes that way, became so proud and saucie, that my ladye, once reproveing for something, he put on his cappe, and cocked it, and spock to her as if she had bein his servande. And, crying for anger, she came to my chamber, and tould me; and I, in greater anger at his insolence, did



run to a baton to beat him. But she did hold me, saying, Father, for God his sake, fyle not your handes beating a knave; if he doe the lyk againe, he shal be punished condignely. Wel, sir, said I to him, my ladye wil have you spaired for this tym; tak head that it be the last. If you retourne again, I vow to Almighty God my dagger shal go to your hart, that other knaves may tak example not to lightly her, because she is a desolat widow. Therafter he durst never stand by her, much less speak to her with his cappe on his head.

*The third Article of the word Captaine.*

Nather was it without a reasonable cause that my ladye used to cal me the captaine of her castel, which would have bein very evil kepted without me; for, when I did enter in her service, ther was but only two pistolets in al the house, and they belonged to Allexander Davidson, a man who kepted ever a pair of pistolets, but never in al his lyf did fire one; so they served to him only for parade, as he avouched to me. Al her servants had swordes of their owne, but theise armes al alon are too short to defend houses. It is true that her owne personne was a more then sufficient guard for her house and household, in tym of peace; but, when the country became troubled, and divided in factions of Covenanters and Anty-Covenanters, every one had nede of armes, both offensive and defensive. For then every on, for the most part, thought wel purchased what they could ravish from another; and they who had nothing of their owne to loose, were, or at least fained themselves to be, of a contrary faction to those who had meanes, but wanted force anough to defend them; which I forsieing, and knowing the necessity and greed of our Heilanders, (who carye no respect to ather sex or quality of personnes whom they may oppresse, when justice hath no power to punish malefactors,) did mak provision of armes, to defend the person, house, and tenantes of my ladye; to wit, eight double muskeats, with bal and poudre and matche conforme, and as many light gunnes, with snape workes; with a long smal fowling gun, and a very wyde carrabinne, capable of nyune or tenne pistolet balles at a charg, which I used to hing at my shoulder when I rode through the contry. So we had eighteen peaces of fire work, forby four pistolets that I had, and two that Alexander Davidson had, in al four and twentie, and an hundreth pounds of powder, wherof I receaved fyftie with the muskeats, and I bought as much with the other gunnes, with balles conforme.

The King, sieing Scotland al in division, as wel as England, sent divers

shippes to Scotland, loadned with muskets, balle, and powder and matche, and bandouliers, to be distributed to those of his subjects who would serve his Majesty. Wherof, notwithstanding the greater part were sould to his rebels, one of theis shippes was sent to Aberdein, directed to the Marquis of Huntley, to be by his order distributed to the faithful subjects. My ladye did send John Thomson with a letter to my lord, her brother-in-law. wherin she prayed his lordship to send to her a part of theis armes, to arme her tenantes and defend her owne house. He scorned her demand, saying, ladies were not ordeaned for feighting, and send her non, neither for herself nor for her tenantes. He could not stay so long in Aberdein as to sie theis armes distributed, but delivered them to the burgessis of the towne upon their obligation to restore them at the end of the weares, or eight livres for every musket, with its bandoulier and fourehite, powder, balle, and matche conforme; and the bourgesses did distribute them to countrie gentlemen upon their obligatioun of that same tenour, and so the Covenanters gote most of them, because they, being careful to provid themselves, bought them with ready moneyes, and the loyal subjects were carelesse; and, finally, when Montrose, then a great Covenanter, did tak Aberdein, he gote al the rest of them. So the pouer King, intending to arme his subjects to feight for him, armed his rebels to feight against himselfe.

I, sieing my Lord Marquis refused armes to my ladye, thought it necesarie to use al meanes possible to get some. I did go to Aberdein, and gotte from Hercules Gouthrie (upon my bond to restor them at the end of the weares, or eight livres for every musket with its fourehet, bandoulier, powder, ball, and match) eight muskets with their pertinents, which I restored indead befor the end of the weares, immediatly after the death of my ladye. And I had befor that provided my snape work gunnes, with powder and ball for them, with powder hornes and flint stones, so that I had al redie when I should nede them, and not have them then to seik. I caused Allester Smith, a Heiland man, a smith to his tread, and a tenant of my ladyes, mak four Heiland axes, as good as any dames axes, to defend dores, and serve for halbardes and pickes. I payed the light gunnes and the axes with my owne money; and after the death of my ladye did give some, and sould others, and did bring with me to France my carabine and four pistolets, two Dutch ones, with their hulsters for the torre of the saddle, and two Scots for to hing upon the girdle.

The very first that obliged us to make usse of our armes were the Marquis of Huntley his owne men of Badenogh. They had bein at Aberdein getting armes, some fourtie or therabout, with their officier, Thome Gordon, an proud and saucie rascal. They, coming up the north syde of the Water of Dye, came to Aboyne, and presented upon the Peithil, and Thome Gordon, liveing the rest their, did come with other three to the gate, which I made be keiped fast. I sent Thomas Cordoner, the porter, to the gate to ask what they desired. Thome, the officier, answered bouldly, that they would loge in the house, because they were my lords men, and the house was also his, and that, the night befor, they had loged in the place of Drumme, which I knew was false, for the Laird of Drumme was not a man to loge such raugelle in his house. When the porter tould me this so insolent an answer, I did go to the gate, for I had the key in my pocket, and did not give it to the porter, fearing that he might be so simple as to let them in, and we should have had more peine to put them out then to hould them out. I did tak with me six good fellows, every one with his sword at his syde and a light gunne in his hand, and placed them al on one syde of the alley that go from the utter gate, betwixt two walles to the court, every one three or four spaces from another, and made them turne their faces and the mouthes of their gunnes a sklenting way, not right to the porte nor to the walle over against them, but a middle way betwixt them both, so that they might sie both at once. I placed them al at one syde of the alleye, fearing that if they had bein opposit on both sides of the alley, which was not sixe spaces broade, they might as wel kil some of themselves as their enemyes, being but very new soldiers; but, being al at one side, they could kille their ennemies and could not hurt themselves.

When I had placed them thus, and encouraged them, I did go to the gate with a bended pistolet in my hand, and, before I did open the quichet, I tould them to retire themselves al but one to speak to me; they did so. Thome Gordon only stayed, the rest were retired only the mater of tenne paces, ready to ruish in if he could have thrustud up the quichate fully. Then I did open it a little, so that he might see my soldiers in the alley. Befor he did sie them, I asked what did they come heir to seeke? He very confidently said, we wil sie my ladye, who, we know, wil give us moneyes, and loge us, and with that was pressing in his shoulder; and I, sieing his inpudence, said, as you love your lyffe, sturre not to winne in, otherwayes I wil discharge my pistolet in your harte; and you shal

not sie my ladye, nor get any thing from her, unlesse it be meit and drink without the gate, but non of you shal come within it, and go out again living. Sir, said he, we are my lords men, and this house is his, and why may not we loge in it? Have you order from my lord, said I, to loge heir? Let me sie his order. Sir, it is my lords wil that we loge in his land. Then go seek his land, and loge in it, for he hath no land nor house heir, so long as my ladye liveth. But, if my lord were dwelling heir himselfe, durst you present yourself to his gate to loge with him? No, said he, we must respect my lord. You base fellow, said I, should not ladyes be respected as much as lords, and more; but you have not so much honesty as to respect any bodye. But put in your head and see how we are prepared to receave you, and tel your nighbours that you shal get no other moneyes heir then which shal come out of theise gunnes, nor loging unless it be grauves to burie you; and, therefor, retire yourself that I may shutt the gate. He retired male contented, and my ladye did send meat and drink to the foote of the Peite Hil, forbiding them to lye upon her tenantes, but bide them loge in tavernes, paying what they should take, otherwise they should not go farre unpunished. They did so, and went away the next day peaceablye.

After that the Badenogh men were gone home to their owne country, with their armes, the clanne Cameron, vassals of my Lord Marquis of Huntley, did come from Loquhaber, a wyld kind of people, to mak their pray in the lawlande, betwixt fourtie and fyftie men. They did come to Aboyne, thinking to mak their fortune their, knowing that ther was no lord their to resist them, but only a ladye, a most desolat and deulful widow. They were within the court, and readie to come in at the house gette befor we knew of their coming. I sent the porter to bid them go to the outer gate, and their mak their demandes. They did so, lyk simple fooles, when they might have bein maisters of the house for their was not a man within the gates, but only the porter and I. We amused them, saying, my lady was impeshed hearing the comptes of her domestick officers, and, therfor, we could not speak to her so soone, which they did believe, and wated long. In the mean tym, the serving men came in, and, when I sie a sufficient number, I went to the gate in that same manner as I had gone to the Badenogh men, and tould them that my ladye would not show herself to them, nor accustome them to come seeking moneyes from her. (They were, indeed, something more civil than the Badenogh men, for

they asked not to loge in my ladyes house, but only to sie herself, and get moneyes from her) ; but if they would be contented of meat and drink for a passad, she would bestow that willingly upon them. They went from the gate, gromeling, and stayed at the Peit Hil. We thought they had been wating for a passad of meat and drink, but that was not the cause of their staying ; for, when it was sent out to them, their captain forbid any of them to touch any thing therof, and went away menacing, and bidde the servante who brought it to them tel my ladye that the morrow she should hear of their newes ; which they performed, for that same night they did go to the house of Allexander Finlay, who keepest a taverne, and made him kill mouton, and al the poultrie that he had, and made good cheer that night ; and the morrow, in place of paying him for their suppers, they did plunder his house, taking away al that could be usseful for them ; and went from him to Malcolme Dorward his house at the Milne of Bounty, thinking to get my ladyes moneyes ther, because he was her chamerr-lanne.

How soone they left Allexander Finlay, he came to the place, betwixt seaven and eight houres, and told me how they had treated him that night, and that they were gone from him to the Milne of Bounty, and were plundering the house of Malcolme Dorward. I was yet in my bed when he tould me, but did rise and cloath myself speedily, and go to my ladye, and tould her, and said, Madame, I wil go against them, with so many as I can find heir in your house. She said, it wil be better to stay until my tenants be conveined, and then go their commander ; for what can you be able to doe with so few against so many. Wil you, Madame, said I, that I bring them to you prisonniers, and then you wil know what I can doe? No, said she, for God's sake do not bring them heir, for then I must enterteane them ; but put them out of my land, if you can. What can I not doe, Madame, said I, for your service? I shal ather put them out of your land, or lye myself upon the place ; for I shal never return to your housse, if I do not put them away. For then I thought that I had as great strength and courage as any other man could have, and my heart could not endure to lette her be wronged or oppressed. So we marched, with a downsen of gimmes, eight pistolets, and my bigge carabain. Before we went out at the gate, I tould them what order I desired to be kept, which was this : we must seik by al means to surprise them in the house, plundering ; and to doe it we must march as the Heilanders doe, every one



after another, without any wordis among us. And when we have entered the courte, Alexander Davidson, and George Stuart, his nephew, have each of them two pistolets, they shal go to the window next the gate, and, houlding their pistolets in at the window, look in themselves, and remark wel the countenance and actions of the Heilanders, and, if they sie any man mak to a weapon, shoote him dead; for al consists in the keiping of the dore and windowes. For if they can be maisters of them to gette their gunnes out at the windows, with a full sight of us, they will kil us, without any damage to themselves; or, if they get free passage out at the dore, they may come out and beat us, for they are three for every one of us. And I ordeaned my owne man, Thome Blackhal, and George Cosky, to the other window. Thome had my wyde carabin, ful of pistolet balles, which would have made great slaughter among them, so thiek together as they were, and Cosky two pistolets. Then I commanded the twelfe gunners to keepe the dore, six on every syde, with order to shoote but one at once, since the dore could not give way to more but one to come out at once; and that he who is next to the dore, on the right hand, shoot first, and go to the last rank and charge againe, and if he misse so as the man come forward, the next ranck shoote at him, and go behind and charge againe.

I prayed them to keep wel this order, and assured them of the victory by doing so. Then we marched every one after another, and not one word among us. When we were very near the house, their sentinel perceaved that we were not Heilanders (whether he had been sleping, or by our marching had thought us Heilanders, I know not), but having discovered us, he did runne to the house, and we after him, so nere that he had not leasour to shut the gate of the courte behinde him. Al the vantage that he had before us was to winne the house, and shut that dore behinde him, which chanced wel for both parties; for if we could have entred the housse with him, we should have killed everye one another, for we were in great furie to be revenged of them, and they could do no lesse than defend themselves, selling their lyffes at the dearest rate that they could, as men in dispaire should doe. They would have had a great advantage upon us, for they, being in a dark housse, would have sein us wel, and we, coming in from the snow, would have bein blinde for some space of tyme, in the which they might have done us great skaith before we could have done them any, not sieing them. But God provyded better for us.



How soon we were in the courte, I said, with a loud voice, Every one to his poste ; which was done in the twineckling of an eye. Then I went to the dore, thinking to brack it up with my foote, but it was a thick double dore, and the lock very strong. Whilst I was at the dore, one of them did come to bout it, and I, hearing him at it, did shoot a pistolet at him. He said afterwarde that the balles did passe through the haire of his head ; whither he said true or not, I know not. I did go from the dore to the windowes, and back again, still encouraging them, and praying them at the windowes to hould their eyes stil upon our ennemyes, and to kille such as would lay their handes to a weaponne ; and to theise at the dore to heave their gunnes ever ready to discharge at such as would mean to come forth without my leave. And I stil threatened to burne the house, and them al into it, if they would not render themselves at my discretion, which they were loath to doe, until they sie the light of bottes of strae that I had kendled to throw upon the thatch of the housse, although I did not intend to do it, nor burne our friends with our foes. But if Malcolme Dorward, and his wyf and servants, and his sonne, George Dorward, and Jhon Cordoner, al whom the Heilanders had lying in bonds by them, had bein out, I would not have made any scruple to have brunt the housse and al the Heilanders within it, to give a terrour to others who would be so broutal as to oppress ladyes who never wronged them.

They sieing the light of the burning stray coming in at the windows, and the keepers of the windowes bidding them render themselves befor they be brunt, they called for quarters. I tould them they should not gette other quarters but my discretion, unto which, if they would submit themselves faithfully, they would find the better quarters, if not, be at their hazarde. Therupon I bidde their captaine come and speak with me al alone, with his gunne under his arme, disbended, and the stock foremost. Then I went to the dore, and bidde the keepers therof lette out one man al alone, with his gunne under his arme, and the stock foremost, but if any did preasse to follow him, that they should kille both him and them who preassed to follow him. He did come out as I ordeaned, and tremble as the leaff of a tree. I believe he thought that we would kille him ther. I did tak his gunne from him, and discharged it, and laid it down upon the earth by the syde of the house. Then, after I had threatened him, and reproched their ingratitude, who durst trouble my ladye or her tenantes, who was and yet is the best frind that their cheif, Donald Cameron, hath

in all the world. For, said I, he will tel you how I and another man of my ladyes went to him wher he was hyding himself, with his cousin, Ewen Cameron, in my ladyes land, and brought them in croupe to Aboyn, wher they were kept secretly three weekes, until their ennemyes, the Covenanters, had left of the seiking of them; and you, unthankful beast as you are, have rendred a displeasour to my ladye for her goodness toward you. He pretended ignorance of that courtesie that she had done to his chieffe.

Be not affrayed, sir, said I, you shal find my discretion better to you then any quarters that you could have gotten by capitulation; for I shal impose nothing to you but that which you shal confesse to be juste. This encouraged him, for he was exciding feared. Then, I said, think you it not juste that you paye this pover man, Alexander Findlay, what you spent in his house, and render what you plundred from him? He said, it is very juste, and payed him what he asked, to wit, four crownes in ready money, and promised to restor what other things they had plundered from him how soon his companions, who had the things, were come out. All which he performed. Is it not juste, said I, that you render to Malcolme Dorward, in whose housse you are heir, and to his sonne, Georg Dorward, and to their friend, John Cordoner, al whatsoever you have taken from them? It is juste, said he, and I shal not go out of his courte, in which I stand, until I have satisfied every body. Is it not juste, said I, that you promise and sweare that you shal go out of the land pertaining to my lady peaceably, untroubling any of her tenants or servants any more; and that you promise and sweare never to molest her tenants heirafter, nor take any thing from them, no so much as meat and drink, unpaid for it; and that you hinder, as much as in you lyeth, al others to trouble her tenants heirafter? It is juste, said he, and did sweare to performe al theis things. When he had sworn by his part of heaven to keepe theis articles, then I made him sweare by the soul of his father, that nather he, nor non whom he could hinder, should never therafter trouble or molest my ladye, nor any of her tenants. Then I sent him into his company in the housse to sie if they would stand to al that he had promised and sworne. He said, they have al sworne fidelity and obedience to me, and, therfor, they must stand to whatsoever I promise, and performe it. Notwithstanding, said I, send me them out as you did come, their gunnes under their armes, and the stockes formost, and send no mor out but one at a tyme, and lette no mor out, until he who is out returne in againe.

and, when you have al com out severally, and made the same othe which you have made, you shal have leave to tak up al your gunnes, but upon your oathes that you shal not charge them againe until you be out of the lands perteaning to my ladye.

They did al come out severally, as I had commanded, and, as they did come to me, I discharged their gunnes to the number of six or eight and fourtie, which made the tenants conveyn to us from the partes where the shottes were heared, so that, befor they had al come out, we were neare as many as they, armed with swordes, and targes and gunnes. When they had al made their oathes to me, I rancked our people lyk two hadges, fyve spaces distant from one another ranck, and but one pace every man from another in that same ranck, and turne the mouthes of their gunnes and their faces one ranck to another, sa as the Heilanders might pas two and two together betwixt their ranckes. They passed so from the dore of the hall in which they were, to the place wher their gunnes were lying al emptye. They trembled passing, as if they had been in a fever quartaine. I asked their captain, when they had taken up their gunnes, what way they would hold to go out of my ladyes land. He said, they desired to go to Birsse. I said, we would convoy them to the Boate of Birsse, a good mile from the place where we were. I did so, because I had promised never to come in my ladyes sight, if I did not put them out of her landes; and, therfor, to come in her house, I would sie them passe over the water of Dye out of her landes, which went to the water syde, and we stood by the water side until the boate did tak them over in three voyages; and, when they were al over the water, we returned home. Allexander Davidson returned from Bountie how soone they beganne to march away. He tould to my ladye the event of our seige, who was very joyful that there was no blood shedde in nather syde.

Their captain and I going together to the water sid, said to me, sir, you have bein happie in surprising us, for if our watchman had advertised us befor your entrie in the courte but only so long as we might have taken our armes in our hands and gone to the courte, we could have killed you al before you had come nere us, we being couvert from you, and you in an open feild to us; or if we had but gone the first to the windowes, we could have beaten you out of the courte, or killed you al in it. Good frind, said I, you think you had to do with children, but know that I was a soldier befor you could weepe your owne nose, and could have ranged my men so

by the side walle of the house wherin you was, that you should not have sein them throug the windowes, and in that posture kepted the dore so wel that non of you should have come out unkilld, and so kepted you within until the countrie had conveyd against you. I confesse, if you had bein maisters of the courte, and we in open feildes, you might have done what you say; but we were not such fooles as to lay ourselves wyde oppen to you, being couvert from us. If any hous had bein nere us, we could have made a seons of it to cover ourselves; if non wer nere us, we could retire in order, and you could not persew us, unlaid yourselves as oppen to us as we were to you, and ther we should have sein who did best.

In the parish of Birsse, these same fellows did cal away a pray of catelle, and kille some men who resisted them. Then they went to Craggyevare, and, although he was esteamed the most active man in al the name of Forbes, they plundered his tenantes, and caried away a pray of catelle, for al that he could do against them. And this I say, to show that theis Hylanders were active and stoute fellows, and that, consequently, it was God, and not I with sixteine boyes, that did put them out of the landes of that pious and devote ladye, whom he did protect, and would not suffer to be oppressed. And to show that it was he himself, and non other, he made choose of weake and unfit instruments, to wit, a pouer preist, who made no profession of armes, unlesse charitye, as at this tyme, or his owne just defense obliged him to it, and sixtein boyes who had never bein at any such play befor, to whom he gave on this occasion both resolution and courage, and to me better conduct then could have proceeded from my simple spirit, without his particular inspiration; to whom I render, as I should, with unfeaned submission, al the glory of that action.

After the Clane Cameron were returned home to their owne countrie, Loquhaber, with their prayes, the Stuarts did come from Athole to the Lawlandes to mak their pourchasse siclyke. They did come to Aboyne, and presented themselves at the gate. I did go to it, accompanied with six light gunnes, as I used to do on such occasions, and asked what they desired. Their captain answered, that they were not come to trouble my ladye nor her landes, but desired only to have the honour to sie my ladye, who, we know, is so noble that she wil bestow some moneyes upon us. I did truely pitye them, for they were civile, and the most part of them gentlemen; but I thought not fitting that my ladye should give them any thing, for, in doing so, she would bring al those Hielanders upon

her landes, and make her tenantes so oppressed by them, that they would not be able to paye her their rentes, therfor I tould them my ladye was not wel to come to sie them at the gate, nor would we suffer them to come within the gates; but if they would accept of meat and drink without, that she would bestow that upon them liberally; but as for moneyes, she could not give them, first, because she had not more than was necessarie for the enterteanment of her own household; next, by giving them to one companie, she would draw downe upon her landes al the rest of the Heilanders; thirdly, because their beagging in such troupes was rather a kind of boasting the people to give their goodes be way of tribut to them then any necessitous begging; whairfor, since she hath servantes sufficient enough to defend her house and landes, she would not be boasted, and, therefor, they would do wel to receave thankfully what was offered to them, and goe away peaceably out of her landes, otherwysse they would find themselves incloased sooner than they were aware of, if they should molest her tenantes. Their captain said, we shal not trouble her tenantes for more then this nights logging; but wher can we now go to loge, the night wil be downe before we be out of her landes. To which I answered, that my ladye would not be less charitable to them then she had bein to others, whom she suffered to receave a male of meat or a nights logging in her landes, for which she compted with her tenantes. They promised to tak no more bot their supper, and go away peaceably the next morning, which they performed. They wer but few, the mater of four or fyve an twentie men, and that much lesse insolent then any that had come befor them. The tenants tould them how insolent the Badenogh men and the Loquhaber men had bein befor them, and how they had been treated for their insolencie, and constrained to pay for what they had taken; and that the Loquhaber men had been assieged, and had bein brunt living, in a housse which they were plundering, if they had not rendred themselves at discretion; for, said they, my ladyes gentleman hath bein long a soldier, and she hath men in armes ever ready to follow him, and he spaireth non who wrong us, her pouer tenantes. Theis Stuarts were the last Heilanders that came upon her landes so long as she lived, which was but two winters thereafter, and until the twelft of March in the third winter. I believe, Madame, you may have knowne theise passages; if you be myndful of them, I think you wil not dout of their verity; but if you distrust them, Aboyne and Cromare, Birsse and Lamphanan, wil yet beare witnes to them. And



these were the subjects upon which my ladye, your noble mother, of happy, yea, thyse happy memory, grounded the title of captain of her castle, which she used to cal me when she spoek of me to her noble and others good frinds.

¶ 4. Conteaining my justification for some wordes, which were alledged that I should have said, evil reported, and much worse exponed.

Now, Madame, supposing it to be true, which I am able to prouue, (if any body wil deny it,) that I did to my ladye, your mother, of happye memory, the services heir above set downe, what disparagement was it, or could it be to her, to love me for them? The services that I did her did not proceed from any hope of reward from her, or from any interest that can be imagined; but purly from the great compassion that I had of her lamentable condition, being a distressed, noble widow, abandoned by al her kinred and allayes, and ruined by deceatful servantes, to whom she trusted but too much. What honest hart could sie or know her case, and not pitie it? If pitie and compassion was the cheefest motive that moued me to employ al the faculties of my soule and body to do her services worthy of honest love proceeding from gratitude, why should it be taken in an evil part, if she did love me as a faithful servant? Or why should I be hated for saying that she did love me? She had a good and juste raison to do it, as every one did avouch, who knew both her and me. Why should she be blamed for doing that, which every judicious personne, man or woman, frind or foe, did esteame juste and reasonable? Or I hated for saying that she did a thing which every honest mynd should, and wil approue in her? If she had not loued me as wel as she did, she would have bein called unthankful for the services that I did her, as wel as you are called now, for not corresponding with a thankful love to the services that I have done you. And, if I did hyd or not avouch the honour that she did me, I should be justly condemned of brutality, as a man wanting gratitud to acknowledge the honor done to him above his merites. For every one doth confesse that a faithful servant deserveth reward, or love, at the least, where reward faileth. And, as for reward, I had non from her. For I tak God to witnes, that when I went out of her housse, that day that she was buried, I had not the value of half an pistole in silver (for gould



I had non), nor any other thing to make moneyes, except my hors, which I bought in London. Its true, she did not know how destitute I was, and, moreover, she would have left me a thousand markes Scots in her testament, which I refused, saying to her, Madame, it shal not be said with truth of me, that I have devored the widows housse while she lived, and taken away the rest when she dyed. To which she replyed, that she would put the name of Allexander Davidson for myn. But I answered, that I would not be put in her testament under no name whatsoever, nor would I tak money from her in the casse that she was in. For, said I, Madame, if God restore you to health, I hope you wil not abandon me; and if he cal you to himselfe at this tym, he knoweth my necessity, and wil, I hope, provyd for me, as he hath done theise many yeares bygone. Then the teares came twinkling downe her cheekes. Then I said, Madame, I beseache you, if you think me worthy to be esteemed an honest man after your death, presse me no more; for I preferre my honor to al the riches in the world. And so we ended that subject. So, if she had not bein pleased to love me of gratitude for my services, I might say now, with truth, that I had done much service both to the mother and the daughter for nothing. But although I may say it of you, without a ly, as you know wel yourself, unlesse you think that you have rewarded me very liberally for having given to me an hundreth crownes, in four termes, that year I did come from Sant Denis, and twenty crownes which Monsieur Conne did give me from you, as he sade to me; and if you think that a great recompense for al my services, I shal give you a very cleare count of twyce as much that I have spent for your service in my voyage going to Scotland for you, so that I am yet so farre from being recompensed for any service that I did you, that I never did get half so much for you as I did spend serving you. But I cannot say that of your mother; for she was both thankful and loving even to her last breath, which I esteem more then any other recompense that ather she or you could bestow upon me.

But you wil say, why did I say that she loved me better than any other man living? Might I not have bein content to have said that she loved me wel, unlesse I had advanced that she loved me best of any man in this world? Indeed, Madame, I do avouch sincerely, that the least degree of her gratitude, which heir is al one with her love, which signifies no other thing heir than her thankfulness, was more then an sufficient recompense for al the services that ever I was or could be able to do her. And some-

tymes I thought juste the lyke of yours; and as our countrie people wil beare witnes, I could not endure anything that tended to your dispareg-ment, even in the least thing that could be, and for your sake I loosed some frinds that had given proofs of greater frindship towards me then you have yet done, or, as I beleive, shal ever doe heirafter. I think now that I was unhappy then in doing so, but then I thought myself obliged to do so, for the sincerity of affection, which made me think that al my frinds were not to be put in a balance with you. How easily is a sincer lover deceived, thinking himself much loved wher he doth much love, although notwithstanding he be but little loved, or not at all.

Now, to answer to that which is reproched to me, to wit, that I should have said that my ladye, your mother, of happye memory, loved me best of any man in the world, I answer, first, and say that I never spock theis wordes so barely as they are reported. For I am sure that I never spock to any bodye of her love towards me, but with the exceptions of two per-sonnes, whom she herself did ever except, whensoever she did speak of her love towards any bodye, and these were, first, her own child, as she used to cal you at some tymes, and, at other tymes, her Hemye, and after you was her nephew, the Earle of Errolle. I did never so much as imagine myself to be the man whom she loved best in al the world, so long as any of theis two were living, so that I could not have said to your servand so barely that I was the man whom she loved best in al the world. Indead, when Mr. Conne, your good frind and myn, did tel me that you were much offended at me for speaking something of her love towards me, which tended to her disparagement, I was astonished, but could not cal to memory any such thing that I could have said, and he did speak it but obscurely, that I might perchance have laten out some worde unadvysedly to some laquay or servand. Wherupon I beganne to consider what I had said to your laquay the last time I was at your dore, and had bidden him tel you that your mother was as great a ladye as you were, who, notwithstanding, never did hold me, nor no other, aither preist or gentleman, at her dore, and you know I was both, whom you did hold at yours. Wheirupon I did wreat an apologie unto you, showing you that I did not her any disparagement at al in comparing her civiltie to the indignity of her daughters carrage towards me.

Afterwards, indead, I learned that your indignation was for some thing that I had said in that kind to your servande, Marie, and then I beganne to examin myself, if ever I had keeped any discours with your servande,

wherin your mother had bein brought upon the tapys ; and, as my memory doth not yet faille me much, it hath suggered to me, I may bouldly say, the whole discours. If you be myndful, Madame, you sent me once to your kitching in a very sharp morning to warme me until you were cloathed. Ther your servande beganne the discours thus in French. I wil wreat it as we spoek it, that you may enquyr at her if I do report it true or not. Monsieur, je m'asseur que Madame vous ayme bien, pour le moins elle le doit faire. Et moy, je le crois, disoys sans dout qu'elle me fait l'honneur de m'aymer ; mais aussy je m'asseur qu'elle ne m'ayme pas tant que sa bonne mere en faisoit, quoy que j'ay plus fait pour elle, que je n'avois pas fait pour sa bonne mere : mais elle estoit la dame la plus reconnoissant du monde. Il est vray aussy que je luy ay rendus des fort bons offices, car j'ay pris le soin entier des touts ses affaires tant spirituels que temporels, et ay mise ma vie en hazarde pour defendre son bien dans les desordres que la guerre civile causoit en nostre pays ; et pour son spirituel tout de mesme. Car la connaissant fort maladive, je ne sortois jamais de sa maison sans luy dire ou j'allois, et en quel endroit je serois trovè chaque jour et chaque nuict jusques a mon retour a sa maison, affin que si elle tomboit malade pendant mon absence, elle pourroit envoyer tout droit ou je servis et me trouver comme le liever augile, sans en consommer du temps a me chercher en plusieurs lieux ou peut estre ie ne serois pas. Et estant chez elle je luy disois la messe tous les jours et prechois a elle et a ses domestiques et voisines toutes les festes et Dimanches. Ce que pas un pretre devant moy ne luy faisoit pas, mais sortoit et retournoit quand bon leur sembloit sans luy dire ny quoy ny que es. Et quelque fois elle estoit plusieurs mois sans avoir de nouvelles de son confesseur, ny scavoir ou il estoit, ce que luy causoit beaucoup de peine, ettant fort infirme, et attendant tousiours la mort. Dont vous voyez que je la servois fort soigneusement et avec beaucoup d'affection, et j'estimois que trop peu tout ce que je pouvois faire pour son service ; comme en effect c'estoit trop peu de chose au prix de son merite. Neantmoins elle avoit la bontè de l'estimer beaucoup et tesmoigner a ses meilleurs amys, qu'elle m'avoit plus d'obligation qu'a homme du monde, et qu'apres sa propre fille, qui est aujourd'huy vostre maistresse, et son nepheu filz de son frere aisne, cheffe de leur tres noble famille, que j'etois celuy qu'elle devoit aimer et priser le plus, et ladessus leur comptoit par detaile les meilleurs offices que je luy avois rendus et finissoit

ordinairement son discours par ces parolles : C' est Dieu qui m'a envoye cest honest homme, pour ma consolation dans la grande affliction que je souffre.

Voilla, Madame, les mesmes parolles, (autant que ma memoire me peut fournir) que j' ay dit a vostre servande, et ny plus ny moins. Si vous en doutez elle est pleine de vie pour en temoigner la verité.

Now, Madame, putting the casse, this be really the true discours which I had with your servande, as certainly it is, I pray you show which be the wordes that are prejudicial to the honor of my ladye, your mother? Can it be dishonourable to any ladye to love a faithful servant for his good service done to her? I hope that nather you, nor no other ladye, wil avouch that; for that were to banish fidelity from servants, yea, out of the whole world. Or did I speak to your servande of any other love then of that which floweth from thankfulness? I am seur she cannot avouch it. If then my discours was only of the love proceeding from gratitude, what other true sens can be made upon theis wordes (she loved me better than any other man living), but this, to wit, that I did her better service then any other man living did ever to her? (The truth wherof may easily be deduced out of the three articles, preist, chamberlane, and captain, above related in the second chapter, and § 3), and that she did esteame it such, and was very thankful for it. If you, or any, wil contest against me that any others did her as good service, or beter, make it appeare, and the readers shal be our judges. And lette them beare away the pryse whom the judicious reader shal judge to have best deserved it. For the love of gratitude is founded upon the merites of the person loved, and is insured by them, so that they should in equity be loved best whose services deserveth most.

I did never think, much lesse say, that my ladye, your mother, loved any bodye but her owne husband, of happy memory, with the love of concupiscence. For I heard her many times say that she never loved any but one, and that she would never love another. I not only heard her say this many times, but believed her also. And, if I had spooken of such love to your servand, or to any other bodye, I were more to be pitied as an innocent, than hated as a detractor. For it behouved me to have loosed the litle natural wit that God hath given me, befor I could commit that extravaganece. But, Madame, I am yet, praised be God, in the possession of the smal understanding that it hath pleased his divine bounty to bestow upon me; and, therfor, it is not credible that I would have comitted such an extravagant folly. Yea, I have bein young, and I do



defye al the world to find ather man or woman, young or old, that ever heard me vaunte of any womans unlawful love towards me, pouer or riche, noble or ignoble. And should I, now in my ould dayes, passed threescore and tenne, beginne to hold such foolish discourses? I have bein many tymes praised by honest wemen, for defending generally the honor of wemen, but was never challenged befor for detracting of any womans honor; and should it be so easily belived that I would beginne upon her whom I honored most both living and dead? I have receaved kyndness from many of the best sort of both sexes, for the services that I have done charitably to others, but I was never, until now, accused of wronging any bodye. I have oft tymes prayesd my ladye, your mother, and others also, for their thankfulness to me, but my wordes were never exponed in a badde sens befor now, that you, her owne daughter, hath done it: I trust she wil some day thank you for your charity. I have said theis same wordes to many others, who never conceaved any other meaning of them, but my sincer expression of her gratitude, until you come with your critick interpretations. You would have bein thought more wyse, Madame, if you had stopped your servandes mouth, saying, that she had raison to love me so, because I had done her such service as deserved that recompense; this you might wel have said, whatsoever you had thought, until you had tryed the truth. That would have bein more honourable to her, nor what you have done. For your proceidings must give occasion both to your servande and others to judge that you, her owne daughter, doth condemne her love as unlawful. But, *Honi soit qui mal y pens.*

Next, I ask at you, Madame, whom my ladye, your mother, had upon whom she should rather have bestowed her honest love (for I mantean that she had no dishonest) then upon her owne ghostly father, although he had done her no other services but only spirituel, which indead is most worthie, but yet we sie that temporel service is most looked on. How then should he be esteemed who hath done both spirituel and temporel, and not only served in both kyndes, so and so, but in each of them so faithfully as I have done, according to her owne confession, who many tymes did thankfully avouche unto her frinds that if God had not sent me to her she would not then have had a housse to put her head into. She thought no dishonour to acknowledge this obligation to me. Whom, then, was she obliged to love better? You know, Madame, that she had nather husband, nor father, nor brother in al the world; and I have shoven above that she ever

excepted you and her nephew, the Earle of Errole, her cheife. If you say that she had sisters and their children, her nephewes and nieces, I answer, that I have excepted al whom she herself did except. As for any others, ather sisters, or nephewes, or nieces, she had litle obligation to them, or non at al, or anye others of her kinred or allayes. After the death of her brother, William, Earle of Errole, she found no more frindship in her owne kinred; and after the death of her father-in-law, the first Marques of Huntley, she had no more frindship in her allayes. Yea, as if al, both her kinred and allayes, had bein obliged to do so, they al did abandon her. You cannot say that ever you did sic so much as a letter come to her from any of her sisters, or from any of their children, to consolat her in her greatest distresses. Ladye Isabel, her sister, did wreat one letter to her from Mons, in nymne yeares, praying her to send tokens to the ladyes of Mons, as if Cromar had bein more abundant of such things than Haynault. Lady Margaret did wreat another to her from Edingbrough, to shew her that she was to marie Sir John Seatoun of the Barnes. These two were al that she receaved al the tym of her widowhead, which lasted eleven yeares and an halfe. I may bouldly say, that in al the worlde ther was not a ladye of her condition so desolat as she was.

I lived with her sindrye years, as you know, and I never did sic any of her kinred or alliance come expresly to visit her, or offer her their assistance in any affair that she had; wherof, much astonished, I did regrate their unkindnes towards her, and asked herself what should be the cause therof, to which she gave me this answeir: Father, they sic that God hath afflicted me, and given me a heavie crosse to beare, and they imitat the kinred of our blessed Saviour, who looked upon him suffering a farre of, but did not come nere his crosse. I forgive them, and I pray God to forgive them. I sic there be no true frinds but such as be frinds for the love of God. This was her answer to me. And some days befor her death, Agnes Barelay, whom you did know, asked her to whom she would commend you, if it should please God to cal her at that tym. To which demande she made this answer, after she had considered it a litle space of tym: Agnes, said she, I have considered your demande, and I know that I have as many, and as noble kinred as any woman in Scotland hath; and, by the death I am going to, I know not who among them al would give my child one maile of meat, or loge her one night, if once I were dead. Therfor, I know non to whom I can recommend her but only to God, who is the father of orphe-



lines, and to such as wil do her good for his sake. You were present when she spoek this, and might, yea, and should have remarked it wel, for then you wanted not full two monthes of thretteine yeares ould.

Let this, her owne answer, serve for an evident prooffe to show if she had any obligation to love her own kinred or alliance better than such a ghostly father, who, in doing what he hath done for her sake to your owne selfe, althought he had never done her any other service, hath shoven mor sincer love towards her, than al the other men in the world hath ever done; wherfor I cannot dissemble untould you. But you are, and ever wil be esteemed the most unnatural and unthankful woman in the whole worlde. You, who have receaved and enjoyed the fruiets of his most charitable love towards your mother, and of her gratitude towards him, have affronted him for telling how thankful your mother was towards him. If she had not loved him as she did, what raison would he have found to have moved him to expose his owne lyff to so many eminent dangers as he did for the love of you? What other raison had he to love you but his gratitud towards your mother? Or can you say that he loved you not? The hazards to which he exposed his lyffe would belye you, for its wel knowen that no man wil expose, in cold blood, his lyffe for a thing that he loveth not mor than his lyffe; and non that do know when and upon what termes he brought you out of Scotland, can deny that he exposed his lyffe for you as many tymes as he was in occasions to be taken, ather going for you or coming bak with you, or in the contrie attending and solliciting your out coming, wher ther wer no few snares laid to catch me, but al in vain, I thank God. The Lairdes of Waterton and Carnemuck followed Captain Hebron, thinking he had bein I, and were ashamed of themselves, but if they had found me they would have gloried much in their pryse. And Mr. William Loggye, sonne to Mr. Androw Loggye, the minister, did vaunt himself, in Aberdein, that he had obliged the contrie much in killing me, becaus I would not render myself his prisonnier. He said he had killed me upon Domesyde, when I was in Edinbrough, four scoir miles from him. This is but to show that my lyffe could not be free of danger, wher even they who never did sie me gloried to have killed me, and others ranne after others to tak them for me. Our blessed Saviour, who can neither deceave nor be deceived, assenureth you that there is not, nor can ther be greater love then is his who giveth his owne lyff for the personne whom he loveth.

You wil say, I did not give my lyffe for you. Its true: and so much

the better for you, but the wors for me, who have suffered much since, both in bodye and mynd, which I would not have suffered, if it had pleased God to accept of my good wil, and tak me at that tym. But he knoweth what is best for both of us, and, therfor, I submit myself humbly to his divine ordre. If he had taken me then, he is so just, he would have rewarded my good wil, but you would have wanted the fruites of my paines, and the price of my blood, which would have bein shed for your sake, althought in vaine. But he hath been more bountiful unto you, making my labour efficacious unto you, and merciful unto me, furnishing me occasion to suffer yet for my sinnes, even of you, in place of rewarde, which he knoweth how to render when he thinketh tym, and sieth the misure of my sufferings full, which I wish come no sooner than the end of my lyfe. Now, Madame, I answer over againe to that I did not give my lyffe for you: I did not give it actually for you, because I was not comprehended, but I did give it morally for you, at that same tyme that I interprysed to bring you out of Scotland. For whosoever enterpryseth to do any thing that is criminell, whether it be justly or unjustly made so, is morally esteemed to lay downe his lyffe at that same houre that he beginneth the action. For when he is comprehended, the judge wil not then ask him if he wil dye willingly for such an action, but wil make him dye, whether he would or would not. For he is no more free to choose. He was free to enterpryse or not enterpryse, but having enterprised, he is not more free to dye or not dye; and I belive that you are not ignorant how criminal a thing it was in Scotland, to bring a child of your condition out of the contrie, to bread you a Catholik, in the very mean tyme that they were couering their treacherous rebellion with the cloak of religion. And which yet did much aggravat the mater that a priest should be the doer, and not only the convoyer of you over sea, that is to say, a simple doer with litle intermission in your affaires, but such a doer as did al along mak the whole plotte; that is to say, having a resolution to conserve you in the Catholik faith, and judging it impossible to be done in Scotland, did go to France and sollicitate the King and Quene for subsistance for you, and not only for subsistance, but also to move them to write for you to come to them, and come to Scotland with theis letters, and their oppenly solicit your out coming, and go bouldly with you over the sea. If any man, other than I, had done such things for you, it would have bein thought, and with good raison, that he had morally or virtually given his lyffe for you.

Heir, Madame, I must tel you that I have al the raison in the world to regrait my paines that I have taken for you, and think them very evil employed in preferring your welfaire to my own lyffe, seing you have preferred the word of your servande accusing me, befor the manifold expressions of my sincer love towards both your noble mother and yourself, al which, I sie, hath not deserved at your handes to obteane justice in the very lowest degree; but, upon her very slender deposition, I have bein condemned and punished by many affrontes at your dore, before ever I knew that you pretended any querrelle against me. God he knoweth that I had bein twentie tymes holden at your dore, not so much as suspecting that you had any thing to lay to my charge. If you had but bidden your laquay tel me not to come at you, I would have saved much paines taken in vaine. But a discreit ladye would never have condemned any man, much less affronted him, unheard what he could say for his own justification; yea, the most criminel of leze majestie wil get audience to justifie him own selfe if he can. But I am informed that you cannot endure to sie me, much lesse to hear me. If you had never seine me, you would have endured mor then you doe, and may yet live to sie greater ennemyes befor you dye. I wil not say wors heir. I wil speak more of this heirafter. If you could not suffer to see me, you might have given comission to some frind (if you have any) to have tryed what I had said and meaned before you should have condemned and punished me, and then I could not have justly compleaned upon you, if I, being found guilty, suffered. But no civil person, nather man nor woman, wil be so absourd as to affront their friends upon a bare report, without any examination.

I wil not so much as suspect that your servande hath any evil wil against me. For, I am seur, I never wronged her, nor non of your servantes. But what assurance had you that she tould you my owne wordes, and did neither adde to them, nor diminish from them, since it is but too common to reporters, specially if they have a badde designe, to choppe and cheange the wordes of the first speaker, and mak them sound clean contrarie to his mynd? What assurance, I say, have you, that your servand hath not done so? Seurly a wisse lady would have made some scruple to have belived her so suddenly, without any forder tryal, and would have raisioned within herself thus: I haue raison to think that my servand would not lye to me; and, upon the other syd, I haue as much raison to think that this man, who hath bein such a particular frind to my mother, and to me lyk-

wyse, for her sake, would not speak evil of my mother. Yet one of the two must haue failed, either he in speaking, or she in reporting. I know not which of them. I must confront them both together, and so the verity will appeare.

Next, what assurance have you that your servande had no designe to revenge herself upon me for the wrongs that your servande, Henriette Gordon, my pretended couseine, did to her? Its wel knownen that women have poussed their hatredes forder of. Henriette called me her cousin, because we were both come of the name of Lesly, but of divers houses, she of Wardes, and I of Balweine. Its lykly that Mary thought me the cusin of Henriette, who used to cal me so ordinarily. Who knoweth if Mary, not finding any way to revenge herself upon Henriette, did not catch that occasion to revenge herself upon me, her cousin, rather nor want al revenge. I know you cannot be ignorant of the hatred betwixt them two, to wit, Mary and Henriette, since you tould Mary what Henriette had wreaten to you of her and of Simon, which could not but gall them bitterly. What assurance then had you, that your servande advanced nothing to you but truth? Might not you haue as prudently judged that she might be detracting of me, as that I would detract of your mother to her. If I had bein a stranger to you, I would easily excuse your blindness, but that you, who hath had so many and so evident proofes of the sincerity of my love, towards both your mother and yourself, should haue so easily belived that I would have spoeken evil of your mother without either profit or pleasour, but contrariwyse, to my own dishonour and damage, is not a thing so easily pardoned. For it is an evident mark that you have never, as yet, bein sensible of any good office that ever I did you; fer, if you were, you would have tryed, befor you had trusted such a thing of me.

Wherfor I must heir ingenuously avouch, that I did never until now know you thoroughly, althought I haue had conversation enough with you to know that you had ever a very hard and unpityful hart from your very infancie, but could never think it so stony as this proeidye of yours doth show it. Only Jannette Williamson, sometyme your woman, hath knownen you rightly as you are, wherein she seameth a prophetesse. For I haue found the character that she did give you very true in many other things, but specially in your insensibility for any good offices receaved. Coming north with you from Edinbrough, she tould me really the whole recompense

that I could expect from you, for al the good that I could ever do to you. Theis are her owne wordes : Father, you have done for this chyld (if I can call her a chyld now of fourtein yeares old) mor then ever any preist did for a chyld befor you, or wil do after you, wherby you wil winne your owne soule, and that wil be al your rewarde. For you nede not expect from her so much as thankfulnes, althought she should come to be the most powarful woman in the whol world. For she is not sensible of any good that can be done to her, and wil nather love nor respect you, nor follow your advyce : and her ingratitude wil be your greatest crosse that ever you shal find. Experience wil teache you the truth heiroyf. I pray God that her prophecie concerning the winning of my owne soule, may arryve to me as infalliblye as the rest hath done, and I shall remaine content and fully rewarded. I did not belive this character of you, Madame, until now that you have, to my great regreat, preferred the bare worde of your servande befor al the good offices that ever I was capable to doe both to your noble mother and to yourself. I am wel assured she would never have done so, nather wil she ever approuve your proceeding towards me.

I do belive, Madame, you were but expecting some occasion to brack the small frindship that you seamed to carry towards me, that through that breach of appearant frindship, you might find a plausible raison to recal the pension viager of a hundreth crownes ; for from once you promised it to me. I never gotte accesse to sie you againe. If you be this day three hundreth crownes richer then you was that day that you promised it to me, the matter of three yeares and four months ago, your profite wil make me think my damage the lighter ; if not, I am sorrie that your spirituel treasure is diminished so much, and your temporel nothing augmented. You know I did not ask that pension from you, and did not claime any right unto it befor you had offerred it ; but after you had freely offerred it, and I thankfully accepted of it, I acqyred just right and title unto it, although ther passed no wreat betwixt us, which is not necessarie unto God, who is both witnes, caution, and judge. I care not much although I never get it, for God can give me bread without you. But for that I do not renonce my right unto it. For my patience in suffering myself wrongfully deprived of it, will be profitable unto my soule ; for God he knowth if I did deserve it or not.

But you wil say, I dout not, that you justly recalled your donation for my ingratitude in wronging your mother. I answer, Madame, and say that



I never had so much as a thought to wrong her. You do suppose, for your solide ground, that which is al the question betwixt us. If, when you heard that tould you of me, you had bein so wisse and discreit as to have called me to you, and examined the mater ather publickly or privatly, and found me truly guilty, I would not defend myself forder than raison and justice would, but humbly submit myself to the censure of the most rigourous judge, and patiently suffer the punishment due to my fault. If you had desired to haue knowen the truth, you would haue done so. Your noble mother, of happye memory, did so when any thing was reported to her upon any of her servants. She tryed before she trusted. And so would you have done, if that discours of your servande were the true cause of our discorde. But being only a pretext, it would have vanished away how soone it had bein examined. And some pretext you must ever alledge for the carying of yourself towards me as you have done.

Now, to conclud this disput, I wil say that giving, but not granting, that my discours to your servand might have offended both your mother and yourself, you might have paralleled both my good and my evil together : puting that discours in one ballance, with al the other evils that I haue done to any of you, and in the other balance al the good offices that I haue done, first to the mother, and, after her death, to the daughter, and I wil be bould to say, that the mother, who knoweth the good services that I did to her, shal never accuse me for any evil that ever I did to her; and much les would the daughter have affronted me as she hath donne if she had participat but half as much of the vertue of gratitud as her mother did. But how can she be thankful to a person to whom she doth not think herself anywayes obliged? For I did hear her say, and did blush hearing it, that she was not obliged to non, nather in France nor in Scotland, but only to the Queen-Mother and to Monsieur. The truth wherof shal appear in the next chapter.



The good Offices donne to Madame de Gordon, now Dame  
d'Attour to Madame, by Gilbert Blakhal, Preist.

CAP. III.



ADAME, since you think that you are not obliged to me, I wil breifly set downe heir the good offices that I have done to you, and the risques or hazardes that I have runne for your saike, to the end that the readers heiroy may be our judges, until it please God to judge us, who knoweth al, and wil reward eache of us according to our merites. And, to beginne with you wher I left of with your noble mother, of happye memory, who departed from this lyffe the twelfe day of March, according to the ould accounte, or the twenty-two, according to the reformed calendar, in the fourtie-two year of God.

Although I have wreaten the lyffe of this noble ladye in another treattye, I must, neverthelesse, reporte heir one of her charitable actions, for the relation that it hath with her death. And it is this: Duncan Gordon, a gentleman of the house of Lesmore, and his wyffe, Agnes Barclay, of the house of Gartley, souffered great persecution for their constancie in the Catholick religion. Haveing loosed their whole meanes, they were redacted to great necessity. My ladye did keep the wyffe with her as a servande, being aaged, and would have extended her charity to the husband also, but he, being very aaged, would not condescend to remain with her, knowing that he would be a burthen whersoever he wer, and, therfor, resolved to go amongst his frindes, and remain some dayes with one, and als many with another, to mak himself a lighter burthen to each of them. This good ladye did furnish him clothes, and when he come at her to sie his wyffe, which was usually four tymes in the year, she obliged him to stay three or four weekes at the least; and, when he would needs pairt from her, she never suffered him to part from her with emptye handes. He did come to her housse at Christmasse, 1639, to keep his last Christmas; and, upon

Candlemasse day, he did tak his leave of her to go away ; but at the masse he became seek, and went to bed, and after a month died. Al which tym my ladye did visit him three tymes at least every day. Her first voyage after the messe was to his chamber, and immediately after denner, and her last at night to visit and comfort him, and caused say every night the Litanies of Loret for him, in his chamber, wher she assisted praying for him.

For theis her charityes towards him, the first night after his burial, he appeared to her in her sleepe, and said to her, Madame, you are ever apprehending death, and therfor hath never one good day. I pray you be no mor so, for I shal come and advertise you six months befor you dye. This he said and no more, and the next day she did tel it to me. I said to her that he was an honest gentleman whilst he lived, and would keepe his promise ; and, therfor, she should not be so apprehensive of death, which, making her melancholious, might wel advance her death, but not prolong her lyffe. Within the space of two yeares after this, he appeared to her again in her sleepe, the night pceeding the twelfth day of September, 1641, and said, I am come now, Madame, to keepe my promise to you ; it is tym to prepar yourselfe. And sayed no more. She tould me the next day that Duncan Gordon had advertised her to prepare herself for death. I, not firmly beleeving that it was a true vision, but rather a dreame proceeding from her melancholy, did set downe the day in wreat, and it prouved a true vision ; for she departed from this lyffe the twelfth day of March, 1642, betwixt eleven and twelf hours in the fornoone, which nather wanted nor exceeded one day of the six months advertisement which he had promised to give her befor her death.

The very first day after he had spoken to her, to wit the 12th of September 1641, she became unwel, and never recovered health againe, but waxed wors and wors every day ; and yet her courage was so great that she never gave so much as one groan (as seek people use to do) being awaak, but sleeping made a pityful moane. Her seeknes was a fievre lante in the beginning, which did gather forces as the strength of her bodye decayed. I did ask at her wher she did find greatest paine ; to which she answered, that, from the point of her head unto the soalle of her foote, ther was not so much without paine as the point of a pine could cover.

Al the tym of theise six months, preparing herself for death, she did confesse and communicat once every week ; and, at the end of every confession, when I had absolved her, she joyned her handes, and sayed, upon

her knees, as followeth : Now, Father, you sie that I am going from this lyffe, and now I recommend to you my fatherles child, going to be motherles. I pray you to continow to her the charity that you have ever shoven unto me. I know that she wil be puten to some heretick to pervert her ; and, therfor, I pray you, for God his sake, doe not abandon her, but visit and comfort her, and save her soule, if you can. Theis are her owne real wordes ; God is my witnes, I do not lye ; and her great love towards you, and the care that she had of your soule, made her repeat theis same wordes at every confession, until such tym as she did perceave the teares tumbling downe my cheekes. Hearing her so earnest recommendation, and sicing her death approaching so nere, then she said, I see, Father, my presaging my owne death so oft tymes doth afflict you, I shal not doe it more. I know you wil doe for my child al that you can, as you have many tymes promised. For, as oft tymes as she had before redoubled her recommendation of you, I had as oft tymes promised to doe for you to the utermost of my power, for to sauve your soule. Let now the suit of this present chapter show if I have been faithful, and kepted my promis, or not.

§ 1. What did befall to me at the Moore of Reyny, going to visit Mademoiselle Gordon.

You were not suffered to remain in Aboyne eight dayes after the deceasse of your mother, but was sent to Robert Coutis his house. I belive you did find a great cheangment. I did go at that tyme to Donald Farquerson in Braymarre, where I did learn that you were transported out of your mothers housse, and wer to be sent to my Ladye Dromond, your cousine germaine. or to her sister, my Ladye Haddington, to be bredde in the Protestant religion. Wherfor, I knowing that I would not get access unto you, being with any of these ladyes, who did know me, and, consequently, that I could not perform my promis made to your mother, unless I could find some moyen to get you out of Scotland in some Catholiek contrie, I resolved to go to France, wher your grandmother had retired herself from the troubles alreadie begunne, but not yet come to a height in our contrie, with the intention to work upon her to send for you, and bread you with herself in France. And, if that could not succeid (wherof I had small hopes. knowing her humeur), to sollicitat the Quene of France, or Madame, for maintenance for you, in whom I had greater confidence.

My resolution being taken for France rather than for England, wher I knew I would have been welcome, and wel used, but could not do any good ther for you, I did mak a tour among my best frinds to tak my leave at them, and to purchase some moneys to mak my voyage, for my pursse was very light, and to get my hors sould, whose price was the greatest found that I had for my journey; for I got but very litle from my frinds, they perswading themselves that my ladye, your mother, had made me riche at her death, as some indeed did say to me that it could not be otherwysse, to find some pretext to themselves not to offer me anything; and I did avouehe that it was so, and that I needed non from them; for it was ever contrair to my nature to meane myself directly or indirectly to any body, what necessity soever I were suffering. I would not omit to tak my leave of you, and for that purpose did go from Strathboggie to Cromar, and passing by the Moore of Reynie, I intended to give my horse a misure of oates ther, becaus ther was no place after that hostellerie wher I could gette oats to him, and I had eight miles to ride over the Cuishnie hills, as wyld a piece of ground as is in al Brittain; and coming to the gate of the hostellerie, I did mete a carter dryving out a cartful of horses dung to lay upon the land. I asked him if I would get there good oats for my horse. I had never bein in that hostellerie befor that tyme, althought I had gone by the gate above an hundreth tymes. The unhappie rascal answering said, Yes, Sir, and good aile and biere also; but did not tell me that the house was ful of men, as drunk as men could be.

I entred in the courte, suspecting nothing, and as I descended from my hors, a gentleman, called Jhon Gordon, sonne to Leicheston, did embrace me very kindly. He was exceeding drunk. When I did see that, I was sorry that I had entred in that house, but there was no remede. I could not retire then, nether with honor nor sauvetie, for I would have bein taken for an ennemye in theis troublesome days, when every unknown man was suspected; therfor I thought it best to go forward with him, who hartly prayed me to enter in the hall with him. I condescended, but would first put my hors in the stable; and, through good fortune for me, the door of the stable was low, so that I was forced to tak of my valise from behind the saddle, which, being bigge and ful, was higher than the saddle, and could not enter the dore. My valise being of, Jhon Gordon called a servande to carie it into the hall, which I would not suffer, but would carie it in myne owne hand, because there was in it a sute of mes cloathes, which being seene,

would have discovered me. How soone I had given my hors stra to eat attending oates, Jhon Gordon would have me go into the hall, which was ful of souldiers, drunck as beastes, and their captain, William Gordon of Tilliangus, was litle better. This Tilliangus had bein page to your fater, and at this tyme wherof I speak, had gotten a patent to list a company for the then holy bot now cursed Covenant, and Jhon Gordon of Licheston was his lientenant. They both had bein of that company of light horsemen who spoiled the lands of Frendret, and had bein ever banished since that roade, until the troubles were begune, and then every Covenanting man was more legal than the King himself.

Leicheston and I entred into the hall, my vallise in one hand, and my hate in the other, to salut the companye, and as I was making my courtsie to them, the captain, in a commanding way, said, Who are you, Sir? which did presently heat my blood, which was not yet come to a good temperement after the death of your mother, but a matter of three weekes befor. And as I thought he spoke disdainfully to me, I answered in that same tone, saying, That is a question, indeed, Sir, to have bein asked at my footeman, if you had seine him comeing in to you. He said it was a civile demande, and I said it might passe for such to a vallet, but not to a gentleman. He said it was civile, and I said it was not. Leicheston seing us both very hotte, and readie to come to blowes, taking me by the hand, said, Go with me Sir, to a chamber, and let this company alone, and we shal be by ourselves. With al my hart, Sir, said I; for I did not desire to offend any man. So we went together, and, as I thought, we had bein delivered from the importunity of the captain. He followed us to the chamber, and did sit downe by my syd; I made him welcome, and prayed him to drink with us, which he would not do, but said, I pray you, Sir, tel me what you are. And I answered him, saying, Sir, if you would have had but a little patience, until I had bein set downe among you, and my hart warmed with a cuppe, as yours hath bein, and then asked me through kyndnes who I was, I would, at the very first word, have tould you; but you did begin in a disdainful way to question me, as if I had bein some countrie fellow, and that maner of preceeding did at the very first heat my blood, and obliged me to refuse to satisfy your demande. And now I cannot, with my credit, accord unto you that which immediately before I have refused; for you wil think that you have forced me to it, and that not complisance but fear hath made me give you satisfaction; and, ther-



for, I pray you, for my honors sake, deferre to another tym the curiosity of knowing who I am, since I cannot with honor tel you now; and I am resolved not to doe any thing prejudicial to my honor, nather for feare of death nor hope of rewarde. But at the next meeting, whensoever it arrive, I shal freely tel you, for then I hope our partie wil not be so unequale as it is now, and therfor wil not then be ascryved to feare or bassness, as it would be undoubtedly now.

With this answer, he went from us to his companye, and, as we thought, (that is, Leicheston and I,) if not contented at least payed with raison. In this meantyme, Leacheston did cal for Finden hadocks (or fishes like whitins, but bigger and firmer); the mistres did give four to her servand to roste and bring to us. When they wer rosted, the captain did take them from her, and eat them with his souldiers. The servande came and tould us that the captain would not suffer her to roste any for us, nor bring to us theis that she had rosted for us. Wherupon I said to the mistresse, in great anger, Goodwyf, I pray you give me some hadocks, and I will go into your hall and roste them, or some better thing for them, for I wil not be so braued by your captain; my moneyes are as good as his are, and, therfor, I wil haue hadocks for my moneye, or know wherfor not. She said, you shal have Sir; but you shal not go in among them who are bent to kil you. I pray God deliver my housse from murther. I would give al I have in the world to have you saiffe out of my housse. I shal go and rost hadocks and bring them to you myself. Which she did, and we did eat them, and drink to the health of one another without any trouble, for our resolution was taken to selle our skines at the dearest rait that we could if it behoued us to dye; for Licheston had alreadie sworne to dye or live with me.

The captain came in to us againe, and set himselfe downe by me, and renewed his first demande, that I should tel him who I was. I told him that I had no other answer to give him but that same which I had alreadie given him. If that could content him, I would be very much his servant; if not, I was resolved to live or dye with honor. Then Licheston did speak to him very generouslye, and did show him how impertinent a thing it was to molest a stranger, to know who he were; and said, gentlemen may have some tymes juste and very necessary raisons to not discover themselves, and especially in such a troublesome tym as this is, when it is hard to know frindes from foes, even among dore nightbours, much more

among strangers, who hath never sein one another; and said, Williame, if ther were peace and justice in the contrie, neither you nor I durst be so bould as to tel who we were. Should you not then deale with others as you would be dealed with? As for myn owne part, I did bring this gentleman into our company, in a frindly way, and wil do my best to tak him out againe saiffe, and wil shaire with him in death or lyffe, until he be free out of our company.

The captain went from us againe, very angrie, to his company, and I know not what sire they were making; but a servant of Leicheston came to us, al troubled, and tould his maister, in Irish, that they were making themselves readie to mak me tel who I was, or kill me without any forder. Leicheston hearing this, was mightily troubled, and said, they are coming to use violence against you, but I shal fall or stand with you; let us defend ourselves. And, saying this, did tak his targe and his sword from his man, and said, let us mete them. No, Sir, said I, by my truth we wil not do so; let them come to us; they are twentie against two, and may soone oppress us in an open court, wher they may environ us. We must keep ourselves within this chamber, and, defending the dore, hould them out from us until we get more help. Your advice is good, said he; we shal follow it. I had in my hand a musketon of the wydest sort, charged with nynne balles of pistolets, and two pistolets upon my girdle. With thir three shots, said I, in grace of God, we shal mak them smart befor they come within this dore, for I know they wil come out al in a crowd together, which I wil mak thinner with on blow of my musketon.

They delayed to come out, and in the mean while I said to Leicheston, Sir, you are the captains frind, and he yours; I pray you rather be a mediator to mak peace then a partenar either with them or me; and go in to them, in a peaceable manner, without your targe, and show the captain that it wil be a great blot unto his honor to bring twenty men against two. Let us rather feight a combat, he and I hande to hande, if he think that I have wronged him. I am readie to do him reason, my sword in my hand, and lay my gunnes downe at my feete. This wil be more honourable to him, and more generously done then to come with twentie drunken fellows to murder two gentlemen in their chamber, which would put such a staine upon him as he could never wash of, although he should heirafter shed al the blood in his vaines. Leicheston, very glad of this motion, said, I wil go tel him, and show him that I will be your frind. Let him choice any

other whom he wil, and he must ather mak peace with you, or accept of this offer, or declare himself a poltron. One of theis three he must do. I prayed him lykwayes to bidde the captain choise both the armes, and the place, so that it were but a quarter of an mile from his sojors, and particular frinds. But for the tym, because I had affairs which requyred my presence, I desired it might be this same day, or the morrow, befor noon.

Leicheston did go in among them, without armes, and tould the captain, in his care, what I had said, who at first would not belive him; but Leicheston swearing that I had given him commission to tel him theis things from me, then he mad answer and said, he shal not be wronged any mor. I am sorry for what is past, but I have greater desire now then ever to know who he is, becaus he is so resolut. I did never mete with a man of greater resolution, wherfor I shal honor him whersoever I shal sie him; and tel him that I nede not feight combats to show my courage; it is wel aneugh knowen in this contrie wher I live; and I belive so be his, wher himself is knowen. Leicheston tould me this from him, wherof I was overjoyed, for I desired nothing so much as to be away with my credit and in peace. Yet his curiosity to know who I was made him go to the stable, and his soldiers, in a crowd, after him, thinking to find my valise upon my hors, and something in it wherby I might be discovered; which had arrieved, had the dore of the stable bein heigh aneugh to let my hors in and the valise upon him. I, sicing them runne in a crowd to the stable, said to Leicheston, What do theis men meane runing to the stable? Do they think that my hors can tel them who I am? or do they think to tak away my hors? I did not come by him so lightly; nather wil I part with him so easily. If I sie him coming out, I vow I shal mak some of them lye in the dust. They, finding no vallise, returned unsturred my hors, and went to their hal.

The captain, shortly after this, did come to our chamber for the last tym, and, sitting downe by me, said, Sir, I am not come to enqyr who you are; for experience teacheth me that you are a resolut gentleman, be who you wil; and, therfor, I do honour you, and wil be your servante so long as I shal live; and if you wil honor me with the society of your brotherhood, I shal think myself greatumlye obliged to you; for I wil avouch that I never did know so resolut a gentleman, which the danger you wer in doth show, wherof you wer not ignorant, and therefor your resolution is the better knowen. And now I am come to crave you pardon for the affront

that we have done. Good Sir, said I, be pleased to cheange the name, and cal it wrong, but not affront ; for a man who is resolved to dye in defend- ing his owne honor may receive wrong indead, but not an affront ; and as to me, I have never yet received any affront, nor do I think to be so basse as ever to receive any. I do believe it indead, said he. But, alace ! we were to nere to wrong you. For once ther was but a haire (as we say) betwixt your lyffe and your death ; and, therfor, I crave you tenne thousand tymes pardone, and as many thanks to Almighty God, who, in the twink- ling of an eye, cheanged our indignation, in compassion, and made me say, O what a pitie were it to kill so brave a man so unworthely ; and, saying that lett the gunne fal out of my hand with which I intended to pearce your hart for the affront which I, in my wreath, judged that you did me, in disdainig to satisfye my curiosity to know who you wer ; but now, in your presence, I vow to Almighty God, that I shal never heirafter ask any gentleman who he is. I shal avouche to have learned this much civilitie from you.

I prayed him to cut his discours that we might drink to the good health of one another, which he did, and when each of us had druncken to one another, he asked if I would be pleased to suffer his company to come into our chamber to drink with me, and upon my word of honor, said he, they shal do you no injury. They shal be welcome, said I, with al my hart. So he did go to them, and brought them in without armes ; and I did tak each of them by the hand very kyndly, and drank to them, and they to me. They were in al fyve and twentie ; and a minister called Mr. Patrick Galloway, who had bein lately banished out of Ireland, in the insurrection that the Irishes made against the Scotes in the north of Ireland. Wherby you may judge if I would not have bein a good pryse to theis soldiours of the unholy Covenant. They would have bein better rewarded then for taking a preist nor for a lord, because thes rebelles covered their traision with the cloak of religion. But my resolution was al the tym that I was in Scotland to defend myself as long as I could stand, and in myn own defence dye rather by the handes of gentlemen then of the hangman. But my day was not yet come to dye at that occasion ; and God changed their hatred in love, for we became the greatest frindes that could be, and made promise of brotherhoode one to another ; and when I did go to my hors, the captain and the minister, and al the soldiers, embraced me, and the captain would nedes help me to tye my valise unto my sadle, and hold my stiroke, but I

would not suffer him to do the last, although I could not get him hindered from the first, and I had much adoe to hinder him from the last. For when I did put my foote to the stirope, he reached his hand to the other to hold it, which obliged me to draw my foote bak again from the stirope two divers tymes, and at last I was forced to accept the service which one of his soldiers offered me, for to be delivered from the complimentious civilitie, shall I call it, or rather officiositye of the captain; and when I was mounted to my hors, I behouved tak every man by the hand again, and drink to the good health of the captain, the lieutenant, and al their soldiers.

I have differred expressly the praises of the lieutenant, Jhon Gordon, sonne to Leicheston, and my obligations to him, until now that I may without interruption continou my discours of him. He was at that tym (I know not if he be living now or dead), a very galant gentleman, and as personable a man as was of any name in Scotland; tale, wel proportioned, with a manlyk countenance, which his generous hart did not belye. For without any other obligation, but only becaus casually he did met me in the court, and civilly did bring me in by the hand to their company, he resolved to shair with me of death or lyff, and did embrace my cause as if it had bein his owne; showing no less interest for my lyff then he would have done for his owne. For assuredly, if they could have persuaded him to quyte myn interest, as I belive they did divers tymes attempe (speaking to him in Irish which I did not understand), my periode had bein compleated that day. For, indead, my hart could not yeald to the captain in nothing, but choiced rather to dye ther, then to show any kinde of feare of him for al his unsober crew; as verily I did not feare them. For at the very first lightlyful word, Who are you, Sir? I resolved to show him that I was as good as himself, and less contemptible; and, therfor, if the lieutenant had not played the mediator, going out to them divers tymes to appease their furie, I could never have gone from them living. For they were madde in their drunkenness, and I was desperat, knowing that I could not go out from them with honor and lyff both together, and therfor made no account of lyff, but only of an honourable death, selling my lyffe the dearest that I could. And, therfor, I do sincerely and thankfully avouche, that it was he, and not myself, who, under God, saued my lyffe at that tym. At the very beginning, when I heard his name and familie, I did know that he and I were cousins, descended of the Oglebies of Finlater; but my courage could not humble itself to tel it



to him, thinking that he would perchance tak it for a kynd of begging of his favour, if I should cleame kinred to him, in my so great nede of freinds. Yea, I was so farre from humbling myself to tel him that we were blood frinds, that I prayed him oft tymes not to loose his frind the captain for me, but to carye himself neuter, syding with nather of us, which he would never condescend unto, but couragiously declared that he would not abandon me in this truble, but would stand or fal with me. I was embarassed in this bruterie from tenne of the clock in the morning until fyve afternoone, and was therfor constrained to ryd through the hilles of Cuishney at midnight for to sie you in the house of Mr. Robert Coutts in Cromar, wher you were lying seik of the smal pockes.

## § 2. My voyage from Scotland to France, by Zeland.

I stayed with you but the mater of seaven or eight houres, from two of the clock in the morning, or after midnight (for it was that much when I arrived at your logis). I would not have spent the half of that tyme by the way, if I had had any light to sie the way, or to know when I was out of the right way or in it, or wher I was; but the night was so dark, that I could not have sein the head of my hors, if it had not bein wheyt, until tenne. I had about me, in a box of silver, two consecrated hosties, and did communicat you in your bedde, and your woman in the chamber, and then did go to Robert Farquerson, the sojor in Belletrach, over Dye, and ther I stayed but one night; and my horse was stinged by an edder or serpent in the breast, lying in the stable in that hieland roume. I, not knowing any thing of his peine, did ryd away upon him, but before I was three miles from thence, he could not put his farther foote to the ground. I did make remove the shoe of that foote at the Church of Birs, to sie what did hurt his foote. The smith did not discover any thing, nather in his foote or legge, and therfor set on the shoe again, and so I did sometimes lead him, and sometymes ryde upon him to Aberdeine, wher the ministers were holding their General Assembly. The next day appeared upon his counter a lump as bigge as a ballone, the venime had so swelled his flesh. How soone I did know what it was, I did bathe it with warme water, in which I raeled a litle earth of malte, and cured him in two dayes, and advertised George Setoun of Carnebroggie to send for him, and money to me for him,

to wit, four score pounds, not the half that he was worth ; but at such tymes removers must be loosers.

The ministers, as I have said, were in Aberden at their General Assembly, and knowing that my Ladye of Aboyne was departed from this lyff, they did persecut her preist, and gotte such intelligence of me, that whersoever I did go they knew it shortly therafter, but did not know wher I was actually. They made enquiry for me in their Assembly, and some of them said that I had bein in the Heighlandes, and that I had gon up the north syd of the Water of Dye, and had come downe the south syd of the same water, and had made the smith at Birs shoe my hors ; and that I was come to Aberdeine, and behouved to be yet ther, since I was nather in Buchan nor Strathboggie. I learned this from Mr. Patrick Chambers, who was clerk of their Assembly, and Catholik in his hart. This so particular notice that they had of me did oblige me to go to a shippe lying in the road, and bound for Campher in Zeland. When I did come to the shippe, the captain, Jhon Anderson of Torrye, tould me that he would not be readie before Sonneday, and this was upon Tuysday. But his gunner, Willame Craig, was my frind, and said to the captain, skipper, I know that gentleman, and also what maketh him come so soone to your shippe. He is bredde in France, and cannot endure drinking. He hath many acquaintance heir, who, if they find him, wil force him to be drunck every day, and to eschew them he is come to lye quyetly in your shippe, choising rather to be sea seek than wyn seik. I know very wel both the man and his humeur ; he is cousin to my wyff, his name is Captain King. I know that if he drink two glasses of wyne mor then his ordinair they wil make him seeke.

The skipper did receave this for good coyne, coming from his gunner, and was more apte to belive it then if it come from myself, although it was myself who had informed the gunner, in his owne housse, wher I loged, to give theis raisons to the captaine of the shippe for my coming so soone to her. I remained in the shippe, tosted up and downe, from Tuysday, at tenne in the forenoone, until Monday at seaven in the morning, the mater of six dayes and as many nights ; and, with a prosperous wind, we arrived at Camphere, the fyfthe day, befor eight of the clock in the morning. And, as the custum is, the Scotsmen who were ther did come to our shippe to bidde us welcome, and to enquire the newes of the contrie ; and, among the rest, the chirurgian of an man of warre of Cam-

phere itself. I asked the chirurgian if he knew of any shippe going from thence to France? He answered, that his captain was to go the morrow by Newheaven or Haver de Grace, for to convoy home a flotte of marchantes lying in that roade.

Befor I would go out of the shippe, I asked the skipper how much he desired for my fraught and my enterteinment; but he, remitting it to my owne discretione, I did give him an double peace of two and twentic shillings, and I gave a dolar to his gunner. They both wer very wel satisfied, and gave me many thankes, and I prayed them to tak a brakfast with me. I did bidde the captain, and his skipper mate, and his gunner, and the chirurgian of the Dutch man of warre, who did lead us to the housse of his captain, and tould his captain that I was desirous to passe in his shippe to Newheaven, who very civilly did make me welcome. Wherupon I did invite him and his skipper mate to go with us and tak a part of our brakfast. We did sit downe at nynne of the clock, and, after the Dutch fassion, did beginne with butter, but ended with the best cheere that the inne could afford us; for the denner did follow the brakfast, and the four houres or goulte the denner, and the supper the goulte, until midnight. I did convoy the Dutch captain, lyk a ladye, my hand under his arme, to keepe him from falling (for he was exceiding drunk), to his owne dore, and his chirurgian did go bak with me to my logis. I invited that night the captain to his brakfast upon the morrow, which he did not forget, for as drunk as he was at night. So we did al seaven mete againe upon the morrow to the brakfast at eight o'clock, which was no wors then our denner the day befor, and lasted two houres. I did indead drink as much as any of the company, but the care that I had to keep myself undiscovered in that puritanical place, hindered the wyne to work upon me. There I spent twenty crownes.

We embarked in the Dutch man of warre betwixt tenne and eleven, and the next day, about that same houre, arrived at Newheaven. When we came there, the marchande shippes were gone away the day before, and therfor the captain said to me that he was come to France only to convoy me. I replied, that if he had knowen befor he had parted from Camphere that the marchants were gon home, he would not have made the voyage for me al alone. It is very true, said he, for I might not have made it under fyfty crownes; but, since I have lost my labour, I am overjoyed that I have

done you this much service. I did offer moneyes to him for my passage and enterteanment, which was very good, and he did give me a very good bedde, with cleane sheets, in the chamber wher non did eat or lye but himself, with his sonne, a litle boye, and I. When we were readie to go to the shoore, I did againe present moneyes to him, but he made many compliments befor he would tak any thing from me, but at last he did accept of a single angel, and did set me to land in his owne floote boate, which he would nedes steir himself. For his civilitie towards me, I thought myself obliged to give him the wyne in France, and did tak him to the house of Mr. Gilbert Pope, the factor, and did treat him their at the chearges of the said Mr. Gilbert Pope, who, at my parting from him for Rouen, would not take one farthing from me, nather for my ordinaires nor extraordinaires, although I was two dayes and as many nights in his house. He was a very honest man, generous and kind, and of a much different nature from his brother, Mr. George Pope, of whom I have said something befor. The third day after I arrived at Newheaven, Mr. Gilbert made his servant hyre a hors for me to Rouen, wher I stayed two dayes to get place in the coches to Paris, wher I had not bein two dayes, or three at the most, when I felle seek of a litle ague, but it lasted not above two weekes. How soone I was wel recovered, Mr. Thomas Chambers, called ordinarily the Abot Chambers, pressed me very much to go bak againe immediatly to Scotland, becaus of the raritye of preistes ther; and to persuad me therunto, did offer me a large viatik of fyftie pistoles, and thretty yearly so long as I would remain ther; but I would not accept of his offer. And, to the end that he should nather be scandalised nor offended at me not accepting his offer to returne home, I tould him that I did come out of our contrie expressly for to procure some maintenance for you to be bredde up in the Catholic religion, and that I would not returne until I had effectuated that, according to my promise to your dyeing mother, of happy memory, which he said proceeded from more zeal in me than knowledge of the present state of the courte; and so passed it over at that time, as a thing so deeply rooted in my hart that it would not be easily drawn out.

§ 3. Showing how I did sollicitat for you my Ladye Marquess of Huntly, your grandmother, both by word and wreat, to no effect.

I had not bein in Paris three whole weekes, when a condition did present itself capable to give me maintenance to attend the occasion of sollicitating for you, otherwise, my moneyes being very short, I could not have been able to subsist myself, much lesse to procure for another. And the condition was this: Madane de Boidennemetz was then in Paris, come from Normandie, to seek a precepteur for her only sonne, heretier of good and large landes in the Vexin Normand. This ladye was very careful to find out a priest fit for that purpose, and gave the charge therof to M. L'Abbe de Poutrincour, of whose judgment in such matters she did make great esteame. This Abbe was then a confrere of the congregation of the Oratorie, living at St. Magloire in the Fauxbourg of St. Jacques; and at that same tyme Father Thomas Beattie, a very learned man, was living ther also, under whom this Abbot had studied his divinity. I did go ther to visit him, being both my contrieman, and my very good frinde.

After some expressions of mutual kindnes, having many yeares unseane one another, he asked me if I would accept of a condition to teach a young gentleman. I asked him wher it did lye, for I would willingly have had one neere unto Paris, because the earand for which I was come to France behoved to be done at Paris, or nere to it. He answered, that he did not know how farre it was from Paris, but that his scollar, the Abbot of Poutrincoure, did know it, and had powar to admit into it, or reject whom he should judge fitte or unfitte for it. I wil speak to him of you, said he, and therfor come againe to me the morrow be seaven of the clock; the tym is pretious, because ther be others sollicitating for it. I did keep the houre appointed; and the Abbot, willing to content his good regent, did promis him all the satisfaction he could desire of him, and therupon did speak to the ladye al that could be said in my faveur, grounding himself upon the relation that his regent, Father Beattie, had given him of me. The ladye, desiring to sie the personne whom she would give to her sonne for a maister, to know if the personne should please her or not, befor she would speak of his appointment, Father Beattie, the Abbot, and I, did go to her logis, and in very few words concluded with her for *bouche en cour*,



fire, candle, washing, and loging, and threttie pistolles yearlie; and I did go with her to her house in Normandie the last holy day of Witsontide, and the day thereafter did beginne my charge.

Having thus found a good, yea, very good setling for myself, yet I could not savour my own felicity, my mind being fixed on you more then upon myself, made me bewaile mor your harde condition, then congratulate the prosperity of myne owne, which might have given me as great satisfaction as any such condition could afford, if the tendernes of my hart towards you could have suffered me to enjoye it. But I, knowing but too wel how harde the hartes of your nerest parentes were towards you, and how careles and insensible they would be of your suffrances, did passe very few days unwept many salt teares for you, from the day that your mother, of happy memory, departed from you, until such tyme as I had obtained from the most charitable Quene of France a promis of honourable maintenance for you; which indeed did somewhat ease my mind, but not setle it, until you were in actual possession therof, which could not be effectuated befor the end of August, in the six hundreth and fourtye three yeare of God, seaventeine months after the decease of your blessed mother, which seemed very long unto me for the vehement desire that I had of your establishment.

But, to proceed with order in the narration of my careful sollicitation, (I may with great reason and truth cal it careful, for al the faculties of my mynd were so intended to the procuration of your welfaire, that they neglected myn own self and myn interest; not caring what should become of me, so as I could provyd wel for you.) In the month of July, six hundreth and fourty two, my Ladye Marquesse of Huntly, your grande mother, did come to Paris. I judged it convenient, since she was in France, to begin at her ladyship, and sollicitat her for you before I should intimate that matter to any other bodye, thinking that she would take it evil, if neglecting her, I should sollicitat any other bodye for her grande child, since she had more then sufficient meanes to enterteane you with herself, and vertue anough to bread you wel, so as you would not have found better education in a monastery then with her; and, moreover, I thought it would engage her to provid for you, since, as it is wel knowen, she had oft tymes detoured her husband, your grandfather, from the setling of your tochar, according as he and your oncle, the Earle of Errol, had verbally aggreed upon, for the some of twenty thousand pounds Scots; which was no smal damage unto you. For now, if you were asking your tochar from

his hoyers, they would think themselves not bound to give you the halfe of it, if they did or would give you any thing at all. For they pretend to have their landes from the King immediatly, by his Majesties free giuft, and not from their prediceessours, and consequently that they are not obliged to paye their debts. I neglected no tyme, from once I was advertised of her comeing to Paris, but did wreat to her ladyship a letter, wherof I have found a copy within theis few days among my papers, wher it had lyen the space of fyve and twenty yeares, which I thought had beine consumed by fire or otherwayes, having myself brunt many papers, which I thought no more necessaire, and many have bein lost by my oft removing. Yet it hath bein sauved to be a testimony of my sincer affection towards you, which appeareth in the diligence that I used in sollicitating for your welfaire. I wil heir wreat it word by word, as it was sent to my ladye, your grandmother.

Most noble Madame, &c.—I congratulat your ladyship's happy arrivey to France, regraiting deeply that so special a part of your burthen is left behind you, in danger to be lossed both soul and bodye. I mean Lady Henriet Gordon, the only memory of that most noble and glorious martyr, the umquel Viscompte of Melgame. I left her in the housse of Mr. Robert Couttes, wher, haveing no education fitte for her quality, she is forced to losse (to her great prejudice) her tender yeares, most capable of vertuous institutions; and the neighbour ministers daily visiting her, leave nothing untryed to pervert that pouer innocent soule. Madame, I have heared many commend very heighly the great love which your ladyship caried towards her blessed father. He hath left you no other gage capable of his love and yours, but only that sweit child. So long as her noble mother of happye memorye did live with her, she wanted no education for soule or bodye that Scotland in this miserable aage could affoord her. Now, since she is become the most destitute orphanline that Britaine hath seime of her quality, being depryved both of father and mother, your ladyship hath, of her misery too glorious an occasion to mak the wourld see, that the love which you caried towards your most worthy sonne, her father, was not extinguished with his lyff (as it was generally thought), but laid up in the treasurs of your hart to be bestowed upon his only child, with the usure of twelfe yeares interests. Madame, she can never have so great nede of it as she hath now in the point of winning or tyning. Nather can your ladyship find a better commodity to perform it, nor now in France in

your owne company, or in some monasterie, the only accademies of vertuous education, which she would most willingly embrasse, to be delivered from the thraldom wherin she liveth at this tyme. And ther is no doubt but it is most certaine that her blessed father and mother, and both her most religious grandfathers (who now do contemplate the glorious face of God, and in him her distresses,) are pouring forth their devoute prayers unto his divin Majestie, who is the souverain father of orphelines, to move your ladyship's hart to tak compassion of her lamentable condition, and to send for her, and for his sake and theirs, bestow upon her that charitable education which now she cannot expect from any other. The troubles are dayly increasing in our unhappye countrie, which wil hender her passage, if she be not sent for in tyme, befor the seaces become as troubled as the land. Wherfor, Madame, let not delays frustrat the santes of their just desires, nor that noble orphan of her expected succours. And in doing that meritorious work of charity, you shal oblige al who do wish her salvation and honor, to sacrifice their lyves for your ladyship's service, and their continoual prayers for your long and prosperous lyff and happy end. For which, offering dayly the immaculat sacrifice upon the holy alter, I remaine,

Most noble Madame,

Your laddyship's most humble servant, and obliged oratour,

G. BLAKHALL.

From Boisdennemets, the 5 of August, 1642.

And the superscription upon the bak of the leter was thus: To the most noble and vertuous Ladye, my Ladye Marqueis of Huntley. I did send the letter, closed in my packet, to Mr. Letus, then Superieur of the Scots College in Paris, who did deliver it faithfully unto her ladyship, as she herself did afterwards avouch unto me, but she did not vouchsaffe to give any answer unto it. Yet I would not let the bussiness passe so, but would draw some answer from her, good or badde, to know what I might expect from her for you. And therfor, in the beginning of the next month, to wit, September, I made a voyage from Boisdennemetz, wher I was living, to Paris, and ther I did entreat Mr. Letus, Superieur of the Scots College, to go with me to her logis, to the end that he might hear my whole discours to her ladyship, and beare witnes if I played the part of a faithful solliciteur or not. He willingly went with me, upon condition that I would not engage him to speak of that propos, which he knew would not be pleasant to her eares. We did agree upon the condition, for I would not

require of him (who had no interest in your affaire) to displease her ladyship in any way, knowing that she could not with reason be offended at me, who, by the recommendation of your mother, was engaged to be your procureur, providing that my discours exceeded not the bounds of respect due to her quality.

I, in as few wordes as I could, brought to her ladyship the most persuasive arguments that my weak spirit could affoord me, to move her to send for you. But al in vaine; for her answer was, that she had not meanes to enterteane herself. When I heard her pretend poverty for her excuse, I said, Madame, I shal find two sufficient bourgeoises in Paris who shal oblige themselves for me that I shal provid for that yong ladye, so as she shal not be chargeable to your ladyship in any thing whatsoever; and if you wil send for her you shal have the name and honor of the enterteaner, without the burthen. When she did sie herself so put to it that poverty could not excuse her, then she spoek French, as we say, that is, she spoek her mynd freely, and said, you may bring her over if you wil, but I wil not acknowledge her, unlesse that my sonne, her tuteur, send with her as much money as may enterteane her heir so long tym as you intend that she remaine, and tak her bak againe. This was as much as to say absolutely I wil not medle with her; for she did know well that her sonne would not send moneyes to enterteane her heir. Al that could be expected from him was, that he could be mouved to advance as much moneyes of her owne as would be a viatik to transport her heir.

I did speak to her at the beginning with al the respect that I could, as Mr. Letus can testifie. But when I did sie that I could not gaine any thing with myldnes, I tould her my mind very freely, and said to her, Madame, I thought myself bound to propone this charitable work first unto your ladyship, persuading myself that you would be mor willing to performe it then I could be to propone it, as, indead, Madame, you have mor reason to do it than I have to desir it. For I have no other obligation then that which proceideth from gratitud and fidelity, for to not prouve unthankful to her mother for al her goodnesses towards me, nor unmindful of the promesses which I made to her ladyship a litle befor her deceasse, to doe al that I can to sauve the soule of her childe, which is impossible for me to doe if she remains stil in Scotland among heretieks. But, Madame, your obligation is much greater, for you are not only obliged through charity, as I am, but nature itself doth also oblige your ladyship, she being your owne

flesh and your blood, and the only child of your sonne, whom you were esteemed to love above al your children. It may be that you did so, Madame, so long as he lived ; but, since his death, you have not shoven it, nather upon his child nor his widow. To al which she made no other answer, but only said that she had done al that she might. And I, replying, said, Madame, you were never charged until this tym to show your love towards any of them ; and now you refuse to show it upon this noble orpheline, destitute of father and mother, and grandfathers and grandmothers, except your ladyship only, unto whose charge she is committed both by the law of God and of nature.

But, Madame, since I am not capable to mouve your ladyship to tak compassion of her calamity, I pray you tak it not evil that I addresse myself to others. I confesse, Madame, that it may be thought strange that I should have recourse to any other, your ladyship living heir ; but necessity bath no law. She is now in the point of wining or loosing, and therfor something must be done to sauve her. I wil heirafter addresse myself, first, unto the Quene of France, and supplicat her Majestie to extend a part of her great charity unto this noble orpheline, and if your ladyship wil oppose me heir, in France, I wil go to Spaine, and so from one princesse to another, so long as ther are Catholick princesses in Europe, until I get maintenance for this noble child to be bredde in some Catholick contrie, wherby her soule may be sauved. She, answering, said, I wil not hinder any good work that you wil doe ; and said no more. So Mr. Letus and I did tak leave of her ladyship, and I did never sie her again ; for this was on a Tuysday, and the Monday next following she passed from this lyffe. So that althought she had being willing to do you good, her good wil would have been fruitles unto you, but meritorious unto her own soule. Mr. Letus is living, and, if he be required, wil beare me witnes that I doe not lye.

#### § 4. Showing how I did sollicit for you the Most Christane Quene of France, Anne d'Austriche.

I, seing that nothing could be expected from my Ladye Marqueis of Huntly, and the Court being at Fontainbelleau, returned to Boisdennemetz very sadde ; and the vehement desyre that I had of your deliverye from the hard condition, wherin I did imagin you wer, did not suffer me to tak much



rest, and therfor I returned to Paris in the beginning of Januarie, 1643. I did communicat my bussines to Mr. Letus, then Superieur of the Scots College in Paris, and to Mr. Thomas Chambers, called commonly l'Abbe de Chambers. They both did laugh at myn interpryse, thinking it altogether ridiculous. But I had patience, because my bussines had nede of friends to advance it, and no foes to hinder it. Then, said Mr. Chambers, if the ladye for whom you intend to sollicitat the Quene were alreadie in France, ther might be some hope that her Majesty could be mouved to bestow something upon her; but to think that she would send to Scotland to call any bodye out of it, to bestow her charity upon, seemes to me contrary to common sens, as if she had not in France as many neding charity as she can be able to succour, with al the charity that she can bestow. Wel, said I, heir is aneuch said, but, to conclud, wil you recommend me to any of your frinds at St. Germaines (for the Court was there), to get me access to the Quene; or wil you not? No, said he, for if I should recommend you to any man for that effect, he should think us both fooles, and me the greatest, who should know better then so. I protest to Almighty God, said he, ther be ladies heir in Paris of Lorrain, who haue had in their own countrie tenne thousand livres of rent, begging heir, and wil thank me when I give them five solz of the almes which the Cardinal de Richelieu did leave to be distributed among the pouer people. Think you, would not the Quene, or should she not, rather bestow her charity upon theis ladyes, whom the French armies have rouined, then send to Scotland for to bring a ladye out of it, to bestow her charity upon? The ladyes of Lorrain are sterving here, and the Quene hath not aneugh to keepe in their lyffes, and you would persuade her to send yet for more strangers to come to her to get charity. I know you think you do wel, and are more wysse then I, because your passion leadeth you so, having no other thing in your mind but that child, and how to assist her. But what would you think of another man, who, in the circumstances wherin we are, seeing many ladyes in the country like to sterve, would propone to her Majestie to send to other contries for more, you would even say that he had not common sens. To which I answered, she is but one, and non of her quality, I am asseured, ar begging heir, much les sterving; and that which her Majesty wil bestow upon her, being devyded among many, would not give them great relieffe, nor the want of it bring them great damage. But, to be short, have I sens, or want I sens, I wil try my fortune, and

have, as we say, aither almes or answer from the Queene, who, if she wil give nothing, wil take nothing from us; and, as the proverb says, a dumme man did never winne a fair ladye, therfor I wil speak, whither I speed or not. For if I should not speak to her Majesty, my silence would be a crosse unto my hart, so long as I can live, perswading myself that if I had spooken I might have spedde, and that my basse timidity have betrayed the good fortune of that noble child. Therfor, confiding in the providence of Almighty God, who is the father of destitute orphelines, and in the great charity of the gracious princesse, I wil mak bold to speak unto her Majesty, hoping that he, who doth help fooles and children, wil help us also. Which if he doe, I shal rejoyse in my folly; if not, I wil be yet a greater foole, and go forder of to procure for her, and never rest until I find something for her, or els al the Catholick princesses in Europe shal shute up from her the bowelles of ther charity. So I did tak my leave from them both, mor displeased then I did show at that tyme.

When I arrived at St. Germaines, I did find ther so great throngs of people, that I had great peine to get loging, and no bedde under a crowne for eache night. I thought it dear, but they had bein dearer, at half a pistolle or two crownes; for which excesse of ransoning people for their beddes, the King did forbidde, under a great faillye, that any should tak more then a crowne for one bedde, although two should lye in it. I got a bedde alone, in a great inne, and payed my crowne nightly, befor I did lye downe, because I had no great thing to leave in gage for my loging, or rather for my bedde. Because my bedde was so deare, I spared of my dyette, and comonly did not eat nor drink befor nyn of the clock at night, and then dejeuner, dyned, and supped, al at once, and payed al befor I went to bedd; for the throng had steyffed credit.

I was some days in great peine, for want of acquantance, to get me accesse to the Queene. At last, even betwixt hope and dispare, being ashamed to retourne home againe, unspooken to her Majesty, I did aborde one of her Majestie's gard, in the hall of her deportement, and asked him to whom I might adresse myself to have accesse to her Majesty; and he show me an gentleman, walking in the hall, and said, the gentleman whom you sie with a batone in his hand is an exempt of her Majesty's gard; he can mak you speak with her. His phisionomie did promise much goodnes in him, and therfor with the mor courage I did salut him, and tel him the peine that I had to get accesse to speak to the Queene; praying him to be

so good as do me that favour, wherby he should oblige me to be ever his most affectionate servitour. I had never spoken to him befor. I might wel perchance have sein him befor that day, in the garde hall, yet his mylde countenance did give me confidence that he would not refuse to do me that favour. I was not deceived, for his bounty did extend itself forder then I durst have requyred.

He asked me if I desired to speak to her Majesty for any pyous work ? I answered, that I had indead such a thing to recommend to her Majesty's pyety, but did not know how to get accesse to expresse my mynd to her Majesty. Then, he said, I can present you to her Majesty ; but, since you intend to mouve her to doe some work of charity, your best wil be to addresse yourself first to some devoute ladye, who may concure with you to mouve the Quene to gratifie your desire. I answering said, Sir, I am so great a stranger at this courte that I doe not know any at it, nather ladyes nor others. You wil not, said he, find any so fitte for your propose as Madame de la Flotte, for she is dame d'attoure to the Quene, and, whilst she queufeth her Majesty, she may speak to her, and recommend your affaire, and, if her Majesty do forget it, remember her over againe ; and she is, of her owne natural a very pious ladye, and apte of herself to mouve the Quene to doe charities. And, perceiving that I did not know the wayes of the courte, nor how to get accesse even to Madame de la Flotte, he did tak me to the antychamber, and put me in ther, and desired one of the grooms of the chamber to cal Madame de la Flotte to me. The groom said she was queufing the Quene, and could not come until she was done. That is no matter, said the exempt, go you now and tel her that this ecclesiastik do cal for her, and when she hath done she wil come to him ; and said to me, sturre not out of this until she come to you, for she wil not fail to come. The groom went in and tould her, and brought us her answer that she would come presently ; and the good exempt, bidding me over againe stay until she come, went out of the chamber, wishing me good successe ; and I could never sie him any more. I think he was going out of quarter, for I could never find him againe, and I did not know his name to ask for him ; nather would I ask at the groomes of the chamber, for they, sieing him so careful of me, thought me some particular frind of his, and gave me ever the entrye when I did come to the chamber dore, and I would not give them occasion to think otherwayes of me by asking him who he was, for their errour was profitable to me.

Madame de la Flotte did come to me within a quarter of an hour after the groom had called her, and asked me what I desyred of her. I answered, to have accesse through her bounty to speak to the Quene. She said, you may tel me, if you please, what you would say to her Majesty, and I shal report it to her, and bring you her answer. She bidde me tel you this. I finding by her affable fashion of speaking, the proof of that which the good exempt had tould me of her bounty, said, Madame, I have so great confidence in your piety, that although her Majesty had not commanded me to doe so, I wil declare to you the whole affaire, which hath brought me hether out of Scotland. And so I beganne and tould her, that I had bein confesseur to a Catholik ladye in Scotland, a widow, whos husband had bein Vicompte of Melgame, and sonne to the Marquis of Huntley, otherwayes called the Marquis de Gordon. This nobleman for his zeal in defending and protecting the pouer Catholicks against the tyranny of our puritanical bishops and ministers, encurred their hatred so much, that they thought him the only enemy that their religion had in Scotland, and that his lyffe would neds be the death of it, and his death its lyffe, as truely he was the most active and zealous nobleman that we had among al our Catholicks; and the Bischope of Aberdeine for that tym was heared say of him that he was the roote of bitternes, and of necessity behouved to be rugged up. Whether or not this Bischope did contribute to the murthering of him, I wil not be judge, but the effect of his threatening did follow soone thereafter; for he was treacherously brunt and eight gentlemen with him, about four o'clock in the morning, in the castle of Frendret belonging to a heretick, who loged the nobleman and his followers in an toure separated a little from the bodey of the castel, and whilst they were al sleeping securly, fearing nothing from that traitor, whom they had convoyed to that his owne house, guarding him from his ennemyes, who were, as he pretended, lying in his way to the number of threttie horsmen. But indead he had no enemye at al, but this nobleman whom he had undertaken to destroy, and could not effectuat his engagement otherwayes then by burning a part of his owne housse to burne him therin, haveing prepared and laide in that toure a great quantity of combustibile mater befor he did implore his protection, which he neded not, but did ask it only to have an appearant pretext to draw him ther to murder him as he did. For his owne servant, Jhon Toschach did many tyme avouch, and openly confessed going to be hanged, that his maister, Frendret, commanded him to kendle the fire at tuo

o'clock after midnight, which he did, and the traitor with his men in armes walked al the night in the courte to kil them, if they should escape the fire. But the stairs or monty being in fire, and the windowes grated with strong barres of yron, ther was no moeyen to escape.

And as he was dyeing for the defence of the pouer Catholicks, God did bestow upon him the grace to augment the number at the last hour of his lyffe, persnading the Barone of Rothemay to abjure the heresie of Calvin, and mak the profession of the Catholik faith openly, to the hearing of the traitor and al who wer with him in the courte. They two, being at a window, and whilst their legges were burning, they did sing together *Te Deum*; which ended, they did tel at the window that their legges being consoomed even to their knees, recommending their soules to God, and the nobleman, his wyffe and chyld, first to God and then to the king; the baron was not married. They, not able to stand longer, fell downe among the fire, and were not heared to say any more. And so this noble martyr finished this mortel lyffe at the aage of four and twenty years, having bein married four yeares, and of three children left but one girle behind him, of one year old, and a sorrowful young widow of his owne aage, who was daughter to the Earle of Errol, Constable of Scotland. She, haveing lived eleven yeares in her widowhead, consooming her body through greeff and sorrowful melancholy, and her meanes pursuing in justice, but in vain, the cruel murther of her beloved husband, departed from this lyffe the twelfth day of March last.

Befor her death she did many tymes recommend to me her fatherles child, going now to be motherlesse (as she used to say as oft as she did recommend her to me), praying me to sauve her soule if I could, and not abandon her among hereticks. For, sayed she, I know that after my decease she wil be sent to some of her cousines, hereticks, to be perverted; but, for the love of God, continow towards my childe the charity that you have ever shoven towards me, since the first tyme that God did send you to me, to comefort me in my great distresse. So I beseache you visit my pouer child, and comefort her, and confirme her in the Catholick faith, and suffer her not to embrace their heresie. She, for the great care that she had of the salvation of her child, redoubled this same recommendation, as oft as she did confesse for the three last months of her lyffe, which was every Saturday, and al the eevves of holy dayes, so imitating the good St. Monick, in her care for the conversion of her sonne, she did show herself



no les a spirituel mother, but rather more then a corporel. And, some dayes before her death, being requyred to whom she would recommend her child, she said she could recommend her to non but to such as for the love of God would do her good; for, said she, I know that my child hath as many and as noble parents as any in Scotland hath, but, by the death that I am going to, I know non among them al who would give her one male of meate or loge her on night, after my departeur, except God mouve some to befrind her for his owne sake. I hope her spirituel father and myn wil not abandon her, but continow stil his charitie towards her, and sauve her soule, which is al that I can requyr of him, and my cheefest desir, for I wish rather that she were a good religieuse, serving God wel in a nunrie, then the greatest ladye in the king his three dominions. I did answer then the same which I had answered al the tymes that she had recommended her child to me, to wit, that I would do al that should ly in my powar to sauve her soule.

Now, Madame, by this my discours, which indead I could not abbreage mor without obscurity, I hope you do perceiue both the quality of the person for whom I am to supplicat her Majesty, and my interest to do it, rysing from my manyfold promises mad to her dyeing mother, which I wil never be able to performe, unles I can get her brought out of Scotland unto some Catholick contrie, wher she may be bredde in the true woorship and service of God. And I know non other living now, unto whom I can have my recours but only her Majesty, who, as I may justly presooome to belive, hath no less sympathy in piety then affinity in blood with the most holy and glorious princes, of blessed memory, her tante, Isabella Clara Eugenia, princesse of the Netherlands, from whom I had the happines to obtaine a canonicat in Mons, in Haynault, for the tante of the same young ladye, which she doth now enjoy. And if that much but never aneugh to be renowned princesse were yet living, I would not have come heir, but gone streight to her beighnesse, who (as she, at her death, avouched, did intend to be a mother to that ladye if God had prolonged her dayes) would surely have had yet a mor tender hart towards this yong orpheline, whose noble mother was indead a tender harted mother, and her housse a charitable hospittale to the pouer orphelines recommended unto her. But, since the world was not worthy to enjoy longer that most generous princesse, I hope God wil mouve the pious hart of the most Christian Quene to tak compassion of the hard condition of this noble orpheline, languishing under the

cruel yock of a disdainful puritane ladye, and rendre unto her the charity that her liberal mother did freely bestow upon many. Haveing ended my discours, I prayed her ladyship to report it to her Majesty, and to contribute her owne suffrage to the accomplishment of a pious worke, as is the sauety of an soule in imminent danger of everlasting perdition.

This noble and vereuous ladye, whos memory I wil ever honor, did as I had desired her, and, haveing finished her discours to the Quene, returned againe to me, saying I have tould the Quene, so nere as I could, your whole discours. She sendeth me to tel you that she wil heare it from yourself; therfor go not out until she come to you, or, if you go out any way, come in againe soone. I said that I would stay and wait upon her Majesty. So, after a good houre, she did come into the antychamber. I did not approche nere her, because I did not think that she had bein the Quene, but only one of her ladyes, because Madame de la Flotte did not come with her, nor none of her ladyes, but al alone, and did speak so familiarly to the groomes of her chamber, and they to her, that I thought that she had bein but one of the filles d'honneur. For, during the lyffe of the King, her husband, she was so wel feareded, and so lyk a French belle brunette (as they say) of six or seaven and twenty years, and so smal in the midle, and so strait in her gowne, which she did to please the King, that I did persuaide myself that she could not be the Quene, and therfor I did not sturre, until she herself looking about her through the room, and sieing non ther but her groomes and me, said, looking to me, *N'es ce pas vous qui demandez a me parler, pour une petite fille.* Then I did sie that I had bein mistaken, and, at the same instant, one of the groomes said to me, *Monsieur allez eu parler a la Roynne.* So I approached nere to her Majesty, and, putting my knee to the grounde, said, *Madame, je demande tres humblement pardonne a vostre Majeste, d' avoir fait attendre si long temps vostre Majeste, n' ayant pas eu l'honneur de la connoitre, car je ne hante pas la courte.* Then she said, *Leve vous mon amys, je vous estime tant plus, car je n' aime pas les pretres qui hant les courtes, dites en ce que vous avez a me dire touchant cette petite fille.*

Then I beganne and tould her Majesty, with a very sadde tonne, al that which I had tould to Madame de la Flotte, expressing more distinctly every thing to her Majesty, showing who were the parents of the child on both sides, what honorable offices of the Crowne they had borne, that her mother was the daughter of the Constable of Scotland, which family had

wonne their first honor for their valeur against the Danes, invading Scotland, nyne hundreth yeares ago; and for their invincible courage against the English, above three hundreth yeares ago, against King Edward, called Longshanks, and his sonne, Edward of Carnaverne, they had deserved the office of Constable; and that King James the First, seing the valeur of their ancestors hereditarie to that family, did give the office of Constable hereditarie to them also, to be a perpetual testimony of their good services to the Crowne, as indead that honorable family of Hay hath stand now nere a thousand yeares in grandeur; and we never can read in history, nor hear by tradition, that any of them were rebelles, so as, with great raison, they may carry under their armes the dictum of the Duke of Montmorancie, *aplanos*, a Greek word, which signifies as much as to say without blotte. Their armes are three bloodie shields in an silver field, given them by King Kenneth the Third, above 950 yeares ago, to show that they were the sheildes which defended the King and contrie against the Danes.

As for the father of the child, he was sonne to the Marquis of Huntly, called in France le Marquis de Gourdon, and heir the Quene interrupted me, asking what she was to the Marquis de Gourdon, who commanded the Scots gens d'armes. Heir I said she was his niessee. She answered that she did know himselfe heir, and neded no more notice of his family. Yet I tould her Majesty, how her father had bein traiterously burnt in the castel of Frendret, for his protection of the pouer Catholics, which I declared at greater lenth then I had done to Madame de la Flotte, and how her mother, after eleven yeares of widowhead, died consumed with greaffe and melancholy, and how dying, she had recommended her child unto me, and charged me to sauve her soule, conserving her in the Catholic faith, which I could not be able to do unlesse her Majesty would have the bounty to give her enterteament heir in Frace, wher she might be educat in piety, and instructed in the knowledge of the Catholic religion. Then she said, bring her heir, and she shal not sterve heir, nor want any thing. To which replying, I said, Madame, I have shoven your Majesty that she is descended of as noble and powarful families as any are in Scotland; wherfor it wil be morally impossible for me to get her brought out of our countrie upon my bare word, speciallye since she is with an Hugonot ladye, who is her owne cousine germaine, and to whom I am but too wel knowen, she having been sometyme Catholik, and therfor, I will not now get access to her housse to

sie nor speak with the childe. But if your Majesty would be pleased to confer upon her the honor which your Majesties tante of happy memory, Isabella Clara Eugenia, princesse of the low countries did to her tante, her uncle and tutor, the Marquis de Gordon, wil send her to your Majesty with credit.

She asked what it was that her tante had done to the tante of that child. So I told her Majesty how lady Isabel Hay, sister to the mother of this child, had come out of Scotland to France, the mater of twelfe years since, with the intention to be religieuse, and after some kynd of trial finding herself unable for that state of lyffe, and being pressed by her brother, the Constable to retourne home again to Scotland to marye, and sending her moneyes to mak her voyage home, did threaten that he would never send her any mor; and, she choising rather to live in poverty, in any Catholik contrie, earning their living, she and her servande, with their nedles, as she sayed, then live with great wealth in any heretic contrie, with an Hugonot husband, prayed me to tak the peins to go to Brusselle, and show her casse unto her heighness your Majestys tante, and to doe what I could to procure from that most charitable princesse a canonicat in Mons, in Haynault, for her. I not being knowen to the princesse, nor never having hanted any courte to learn their entreagues, which from my heart I do hate, thought that she did put an very heavie task upon me. But the compassion that I had of her hard condition, made me undergo the yock, and strive to do my endeavour, hoping that God would prosper my labour taken not for myself, nor non of myn, but purly through charity for one to whom I had no humain relation. And so He did, for the very first time that I had the honor to speak to her highness, she said that she would consider my proposition, and see what she could do for the ladye, and bidde me retourne againe, when I would, and she would give me her answer. Which was this: There is no benefice vacant at the present, said her heighnes, but you may bring her heir, and I shall receave her, and kepe her at the courte until such tyme as some one come to vaik, and I shal give to her the first one that shal be vaikant. I, replying, said, Madame, I know she wil come heir upon your Majestys worde, but I besceach your Majesty consider that ther ar in France, but specially in Paris, many our contrie people, Hugonots, who, hearing of her going out of France, wil not belive that she is coming to your Majesty, but (as they neglect not any occasion of detraction of Ca-

tholiks), they wil say that she is running through the contrie with such a priest, which would be very scandalous both to her and to me. Al which your Majesty may hinder by your letter commanding her to come to your Majesty, which wil be honorable to her, and will stop the mouthes of detractors. Her heighnes said, that is wel considered, I shal wreat to her to come to me; and go you to my secretair, Faillia, who is secretair for the French tongue. I shal send him an order to give you my letter. Which I gotte at last, althought his comis did delay me long, and by vertue of this letter I did bring her with credit to her heighnes, whom she did never sie but ons, upon the feast of St. Catherine, the twenty-fyfth of November, 1633. For the Infanta did seeken upon the morrow, which was a Saturday, and upon the next Thursday, the first of December, depaarted from this lyffe to a better. Yet her heighnes did not forget this yong ladye, but having made her last wil, twelwe years befor, which she did not alter, made a codicile expressly for this ladye, wherin she ordeaned that the first benefice which should vaik in the College of the Chanoinesses of Mons, should be given to her, and she installed in it, befor al others, who would or might pretend any grant or promise of the first benefice vaikant ther, because she was a stranger come ther, upon her heighnes letter; and that her highnes meubles being sould, a found should be made to paye to her a thousand livres yearlye. until such time as she should enjoye peaceably the fruits of her benefice. And a benefice coming to vaik a litle before the first year was expired, the Cardinal Infant, your Majesties brother, as excecuteur of the wil of his tante, did cause Monsieur de St. Martin, lieutenant governor of Mons, to put her in the possession of the benefice, against the wil of al the ladyes chanoinesses. who did runne out of the churehe, making opposition, but al in vane. For his heighnes did manteane her, and now she doth enjoye it with the love and consentment of al thes ladyes.

Now, I have showen to your Majesty what your tante of blessed memory did to her tant. If your Majesty be pleased to wreat for her to come heir to your Majesty, I hope I wil get her brought heir, but not otherwayes.



- ¶ 5. Showing how both the King and the Quene were mouved to wreat to Scotland for Mademoiselle de Gordon to come to their Majesties.

The most Christian Quene, having heard this long discours patiently, even unto the end, said, I wil doe for that child as much and more as my tante did for hers, ; and I shal provyde her better then my tante did provyde hers. I said, Madame, your Majestys tante was preveined by death, and could not doe more in so short a tyme, yea, many admired that she did so much at such a tyme. But, if God had spared her dayes, she would haue done much more, as she did declare upon her deathbed to the Archbishop of Malins, charging him, as he should answer to her Majesty at the last day, to be a father to that ladye ; for, if I could live longer, I would be a mother to her, said she. And he answered, that he was not woorthie to be a father to any to whom her heighnes would have bein a mother, and, therefor could not accept of that title ; but that he would be her procureur, and sie her Majestys wil concerning that ladye executed punctually. The Archbishop himself did tel this discours betwixt her heighness and him, first unto me solliciting him for the ladye, and thereafter to her and me together, at an visite which the ladye did make to him to thank his lordship for the good offices he had done her.

Then the Quene asked who is tutor to the child ? I said, the Marquis de Gourdon, her uncle. She said, I know him. He wil not refuse to send her to me, upon my letter. I said, Madame, he may not avouche the sending of her, because it is a crime, by the constitutions of our countrie, to send out or tak out any child of her condition, boy or girle, without licence from the King, or from the Counseil of State, which he wil not get obtained. For the King is in his armye, and the accesse to his Majesty wil be very difficile. And if the King should give permission to send her out, the Concile would oppose it, as being his Majestys ennemyes declared. How then, said the Quene, wil you get her brought heir ? I said, if your Majesty's letter be addressed to the child herselfe, her tutor wil know that it hath bein done so to sauve him from danger, and wil be the more willing, although but covertly, to send her to your Majesty, and by meanes of others to dispose for her voyage. The Quene, replying, said, I may wreat within the kingdom where I please, but not without the kingdom, unless

the King give me license to do it. Therefore, go you to Mr. de Noyers, he is Secretair of the State, and only hath accesse to the King in his Majesty's indisposition. Tel him that I did send you to him to tel him what you have tould to me concerning that child, and that I do pray him to ask licence from the King for me to wreat to Scotland for her, and I shal do it.

I did as her Majesty commanded me; and Monsieur de Noyers, having patiently heard my whole discours concerning the child, was touched with compassion, and promised to speak to the King for licence to the Quene to wreat for her to come to France. But, haveing maters of great moment to treat with his Majesty, he delayed eight or tenne dayes befor he could speak of my bussiness. At last he did find an opportunity to speak, and tould his Majesty al that which I had tould to the Quene and to him, and that with so sensible an expression, being a very pious and charitable man, that the King, made sensible of her condition, said, I give leave to the Quene to wreat for her, and I wil wreat for her lykewayes to come heir, and wil enterteane her out of my espargne, and be a father to her, since she hath lossed her owne in such an fashion. I remember to have heard of that horrible murther. When I returned to Mr. de Noyers the third tyme, he tould me al this which the King had said, and that the Quene had leave to wreat, if she pleased to do it, but that he thought it not necessare that she should wreat, seing the King would do it, and entertaime the girle himselfe.

When I retourned to the Quene with the answere that Mr. de Noyers gave her Majesty, she said it is al one whether I wreat or wreat not; when you bring her heir, I shal receive her. I retourned again to Mr. de Noyers to learne when I might expect his Majestys letter, and to whom I should address myself to get it. He sent me to Mr. Le Roy, his owne first com-mis, a very discreet and generous man. I receaved the letter from him the very next day after I had spokken to him; for he went that same day and received his ordre from Mr. de Noyers. I offered money to his under com-mis who delivered me the letter; but Mr. Le Roy would not suffer him, nor non of the clers to tak money from me, and, jeasting, said, *L'argent d'Escosse n'est pas bon*. I answered that I would give French money, and that very good. Then he said, *Nous ne prenons, point d'argent des Escossois*. And when I pressed more (thinking that he pityed my poverty), saying, *Je le donneray d'aussi bon cœur que les Francois mesme*; he said,

Je voye bien que vous n'estez que trop liberal, je me plaindray a Mr. le Collonel Douglas, que vous nous vouliez corrompre icy. Demandez luy si nous en prenons argent des Escossois, il vous en dira la verité. I, seing him as obstinat in refusing my money as I was wilful in offering, I did put them in my pocket, and thanked him for his charity.

When I had gotten his Majestys letter, and was ready to go away from St. Germaines to Paris, I entred, in consideration of the indisposition of his Majesty, whos couleur was lyk a piece of lead, and sayed to myself, the King seameth to me mor lyk a dead man then a living, what if he should dye befor that I should get the child out of the contrie? In that casse his letter wil do me no good. I wil be thought ridicoulous to propone to tak her out upon the letter of a dead King. Neither wil the Marquis of Huntley belive me saying that the Quene hath promised to receave her and enterteane her, if I have not her Majestys letter to witnes it, and so all my labour shal be lossed if the King should dye; therfor I must, for the greater assurance, have the Quenes letter also. But befor I would ask it from the Quene, I thought it necessare to try how Mr. de Noyers would tak it; for I suspected that he was no frind to the Quene, haveing bein so conglutinated to the Cardinal de Richelieu, who did ever persecut her Majesty, that he was commonly called the right eye of his eminence. I retourned, therfor, ons yet to him, and said, Mr., I have receaved the letter that his Majesty hath commanded for the yong ladye of whom I spok to your grandeur. I have thought that my paines being taken for a girle, it would be honorable to her if the Quene would be pleased to wreat for her, since the favour that her Majesty wil do her cannot diminish her obligation to his Majesty, but rather redouble it, seing it is through his Majestys permission and approbation that the Quene wil do her that honor. If it were for a boy, I would not ask her Majestys letter. He answered, the Quene hath leave to wreat if she wil. Then, said I, with the leave of your grandeur, I will supplicat her Majesty to do it. He said, you may.

So I retourned to the Quene againe, and did show her that I had receaved the King his letter, and prayed her Majesty to have the bounty to caus give hers lykwyse, because it would be honorable to the ladye if your Majesty would join your benevolence in wreating for her to that of his Majesty. In asking her Majestys letter, I behouved to pretend honor, but assurance was my true motive. But I would not say that I feared his Majestys death, for I would have bein very unwelcome to al parties with

as to my livelyhood, my whole confidence is in Him, who bidde us seek first the kingdome of God, and then our necessities shal be given unto us; and if workes of charity be not an ordinary meanes to acquire the kingdome of God, I know not how it should be wonne. You are two wyse men, I grant, but I found non of your trampe at al the Courte, for not one ther did cal my proposition foolishe. The King, the Quene, Mr. de Noyers, and Madame de la Flotte, and, in one word, al who did heare it, did esteame it very pyous, and me an honest man for proponing it. I am in your bookes a foole, with which I can dispense very easily, since many others more credible than you have a better conceit of me. The King and the Quene hath promised to do al that which I demanded, and mor then I durst have asked from their Majesties.

Then I did draw out of my pocket their Majesties letteres, and Mr. Chambers, unseen what they contained, did say, laughing, Is that even al which you have done for your long staying at courte? I could have gotten you an letter of cachette ungoing ther. I belive, said I, you can do much more then that; but if you would gotten to me a promis both from the King and Quene to receave her, and enterteane her in al things according to her birth, which they now do know, with letters inveiting her to come to their Majesties, you should have done me a singular pleasure, and saved in my purse tenne pistolles and above, which I have spended, forby a most tedious labour. Al which now I think wel bestowed, seing I have obtained my sute. What shal I say, Sir, said he, you are a lucky man. Tould not I you, said I, that God helpeth fooles and children. Well, Sir, said he, you may geyre haveing obtained your desire; but if it had gone against you, let me tel you what I think, you would not have been thought prudent. Notwithstanding, said I, before it was granted, very wyse people thought my demande both pious and juste, ergo, not as you think so foolishe, otherwayes they would never have promised to accomplish it. Wel, said he, your labour is not yet ended. How shal she come heir now? and if she come not, your travel is al loosed. God, said I, hath laide the grounde, and I hope he wil also build the house. It was necessarie first of al to establish a certain provision for her maintenance, and then to bring her to it.

Then said he, our cousin german, Captain Leith, is going to Scotland for a recrute to his company, and sielyk are Captain Foularton, and Capitaine Hebron. Theise three wil sie the Marquis of Huntly. You may wreat letteres to the Marquis and some others of her frindes, showing them

what you have done for her, and pray the Marquis to send her over to their Majesties in al hast, so as that their benevolence be not neglected, which they would tak very ill; and pray her other frindes to solicitat the Marquis to do it. I followed his conselle; and before al other things, I did translate out of French into Scots their Majesties letters, because some of those to whom I resolved to wreat did not understand the French, and I did wreat tenne copies of them, and caused them to be collationed by two nottaires, whose handes the Marquis did know wel, haveing imployed them in his owne affaires at Paris, to wit, Muret and his compaignon; and I sent one copie of both letters, with one from myself, to the Marquis; and another to my Ladye Marquise of Douglas; and the third to my Ladye of Strabane, the Marquis his two sisters, and tantes to the child on her fathers side, both Catholicks; and the fourth to my Lady Mornington; and the fyfth to my Ladye of Barnes, her tantes on the mothers syde, bothe Catholick, and the sixt to herself; the seaventhe to the Lairde of Craigge; and eighth to the Laird of Schives; the nynth to Carneborrow, and the tenth to Alexander Davidson, al Catholicks; with an letter from myself to each of them, praying, as earnestly as I could, to contribute their paines to so charitable a worke, sollicitating the Marquis to send her to France. I delivered theis letters to Captain Leith, who delivered them in Scotland faithfully.

¶ 6. Showing my Voyage from Paris to Dieppe, in my jorney to Scotland.

When al theis captaines were gone away from Paris, and my letteres with them, I began to think with myselfe, that if I should not go myselfe, and earnestly solicitat the comeing forth of the child, al my labour would yet be loosed, knowing how slow men are in other mens affaires, which doe not concerne themselves. For, said I to myselfe, I suppose they wil be careful to deliver al my letteres, as they were indead, but wil do no more, perswading themselves that they have done aneugh in doing that. But letters being once redde, are ordinarily casten by, and not mor looked upon, and cannot stand up and say, reid me yet over againe. And knowing lykwyse how indifferent the Marquis of Huntley would be whether she should go or byde, and how cold, yea earles, her other frindes would be of her welle, which experience did show to be but overtrue. For non of them al to whom I had wreaten, did ever open their mouthes to speak or tak a



pennie to write to the Marquis in her behalfe, except only two gentlemen, who were nothing in kindred to her, to wit, the Lairdes of Craigge and of Carneborrow, and they finding his lordshipe very indifferent, left of to trouble him any more.

Upon theis considerations, and others of that nature, I resolved to mak the voyage, and to bring her out of Scotland, ather with the consent of her tutor, the Marquis, or without it. For I made no doubt of her owne consentement, haveing learned how hardly she was used wher she was with her cousine germaine, my Ladye of Haddington. When I proposed this my intention to my frinds in Paris, their oppinions were al opposit, counselling me rather to attend heir in France her comeing over, then to expose myself to be taken in Scotland, with the losse of myn owne lyffe, and of her fortune; for morally I could not eschew to be taken, being so well known. and being taken, it behouved me to dye infallibly; it being a crime to tak away any of her condition out of the countrie, without licence from the king or the councel, which I would never obteane. I considered this discour made by Mr. Chambers and Mr. Leith, which I did know proceeded from their affection towards me, and thought their opinion but too probable. and thanking them for their good counsel, said, I may waite long and long over againe for her comeing to France or she come, unless I or some other urge incessantly her uncle to send her over, and I know that I shal not find any body who wil be at the paines to doe that but only myselfe. And as for the hazard of my lyff, I did premeditat the worst that can befall me befor I did mak my resolution, and do really find that no evil so great can befall me as the abandoning that child in the condition wherin she is, and therfor I am resolved to mak the voyage, or dye in the waye. I wil hazard al for her delivery, and leave the event to God, who hath done for her al that hath bein done, and therfor I hope that as he hath lade the foundation, he wil also perfeit the work. But he useth ordinarie instruments in such things, and worketh not miraculously but seldom, when humain industry hath no proportion unto the effect. If I should be taken and hanged, I am sure that nather God, nor her father or mother, will reproach to me any infidelity, for they doe know that I am willing to doe al that lyeth in my powar. But if, for feare of my owne death, I should remaine in France, neglecting her, myn owne conscience would condemne me for not doing al that I might have done, and so I should never have one joyful day thereafter. Nay, I had rather dye doing my duty than live a reproachful lyffe.

so as that any man could justly upbraid infidelity to me, and with truth say that I had falsified my promise made unto her dyeing mother, who did so earnestly recommend to me the care of her soule. My hart was never so basse, nor by the grace of God shal ever be, as to sauve my lyffe with the losse of my honor. And therfor I shal, through the grace of Almighty God, mak this voyage, or dye in the waye. For counselles come to late, when the resolutions are taken. They hearing me speak so determinatly, did leave me, as they said, in my obstination.

When I beganne to look what moneyes I could have to mak my voyage, I did find my purse too light for so long an journey, having spendit much in St. Germaines. Wherfor I prayed Mr. Letus to lette me have some moneyes upon my suttanne, and long cloak of ras de chalon, brand newe, as we say. They had cost eighty pounds, having twenty ellnes in them, at four pounds the ellne; but he would not give more then fourty franes upon them, which I rendered to him at my retour from Scotland, and receaved my cloathes bak againe. Mr. Chambers seing me scarce of moneyes, for I had no mor but sixtecin pistolles, forby theis four, which were in al but twenty, did go to Mr. de Noyers, then surintendant of the Kings finances, and procured from him to me threttie pistolles, not in readie money, but only an order to the intendant to pay them; and, because it would be long or they could be gotten up from the King thresories, he caused Mr. Leith advance to me threttie pistolles, which were not received from the thresorie until I was returned from Scotland, and that not without paine; because Mr. de Noyers, who did give the ordre, was then out of favour, and from the court, living at his own castel of Danguy. Gratitude obligeth me heir to show the obligation that I had to Mr. Chambers, to the end that they who shal know of this voyage, may also know the courtesie that he did to me, in procuring of this soume to me, and advancing it.

With theis fiftie pistolles, I thought myself not il provided for my voyage. I bought from Mr. Muat a new sut, and cloack of gray serge de Berie, the which stud me to eight pistolles; and I gave for a new hatte and an pair of new bouttes, twenty franes. Theis made away one hundreth of my fyve hundreth franes, so I had yet four hundreth franes, when I parted from Paris upon an hors which Mr. Mouat hyred for me, an horse of retour, as they cal him, for fyve crownes, to make usse of him fyve days, because I intended to stay at Boisdennemetz one day or two. I would not have plained the moneyes, if the hors had been as good as he was lyk to

have bein, for he was as great as a coach hors, but the most lasche jaddle that ever any man crossed. For I might sooner have killed him with my spurres then made him trotte, much less gallope. Then his head was so heavie and great, and his neck so weak, that it could not bear the weight of his head, but lette it falle ordinarily in betwixt his two forther lygges. and falle his croupe over his head, with danger to bruse me under his back, and when I did hold his head a litle streat, his mouth being tender, he caber upon his heeles, and fal backward, so as I did not know in what posture to kepe him. I have deseryved him thus at length to show the reader that it was God and not myself that sauved me that I was not crazed under him, haveing fallen under me sex or seven tymes, betwixt Paris and Ronen, and that in the fairest way, rather then in the rochest. But as oft as he did fale, God gave me the grace to throw myself some space from him, so as he did not touch me, except the first tym in Poissy, wher, stumbling forward, I did hold up his head to keep him unfallen, and he gyrt upon his hinder feet and fell backward upon the caussy, and I under his back, so as the people came running to me, thinking I had bein killed. I had indead some bruises, caused by the saddle, and the garde of my sword, yet did mount again, and road that day to Boisdennemetz against night, wher I stayed from Saturday night until Monday morning.

When I did salut Madame de Boisdennemetz, she enquired very cheritably of my carand, how I had spede; and very patiently said, Mr., men know when they goe from home, but know not then when they can returne. You promised to stay away but one week, and, notwithstanding, you have stayed six. I believe not for any pleasure that you fand at the courte, but for your affaires. I am much rejoysed that they have succeeded as you desired; I belive not without great paines. I thanked her very humbly for her charity towards me, and patient susteaning my absence from her sonne, and said, I am sorry that I have been constrained to give him so long vacance, but I must now leave him for good and al; because, haveing obtained letteres from both King and Quene, inviting the yong ladye, for whom, as I tould your ladyship, I did go to court, to come heir, with their Majesties promises to enterteane her, I must necessarily go for her, and convoy her to their Majesties. For she nather wil, nor can come heir, unlesse I go for her. When she heared me say this, she looked upon me some space of tyme unsaying anything, being troubled at my saying that I must leave her sonne for altogether. Then she said, I am truly overjoyed

that your voyag hath succeeded so wel, but am very sorry that you wil leave my sonne; for he had never any maister whom he did ather love or feare so much as you. He had one who was excidingly rude unto him, and you, as he hath tould me, did never so much as speak one rude word to him, and yet he feareth you mor then he did this other, for al his crueltie towards him, which was so great that I have bein forced to go to ther chamber to deliver my child out from his handes; yea, I have heard him say that he himself did not know who sauved him unkilld my child with blowes in his passion, which made me many times affrayed to trust my child al alon with him. But when he is with you, my hart is in peace, knowing your mildnes and love towards him; and he himself desires to be ever by you, as you sie when you go any way to walk, he, of his owne accorde, goth ever with you, which he never did to any other befor you.

I tould her that of necessity I must go to Scotland for that yong ladye, and prayed her to give her sonne another maister. She said your voyage is so charitable, that I can not oppose it. I know not what need my owne may have yet, for ther is nothing certain in this world. They are already fatherles, and I know not how soon they may want me, and I would be much grieved if I should know that any should be so uncharitable as to hinder a frind from doing them good, and as we would have done to us, so should we do to others, and, therfor, I wil not hinder but rather forder your voyage. But I wil not give to my sonne another maister, until I be assured that you wil never come back heir againe, which I hope shal not arrive. Since you go to bring that child heir, I persuaide mysele that you wil come with her, and, therfor, if you wil promise to returne with my sonne when you come back, I wil not give him another maister, but wil attend your retour. I said, Madame, my voyage wil be long and hazardous, for my errand is criminal; if I be taken, I may be hanged by the lawes of our contrie, for it is a great cryme by our lawes to convoy any child of her condition out of the contrie without licence from the King or Councel of the State, and I wil not gette, nather darre I ask such licence from ather King or Council. Monsieur, said she, ther be few in the world now of your trempe. Wher shal we find another now who would mak such a voyage, with the hazard of his lyffe, for to succour an orpheline? That child should be a good servande to God, who hath provyded for her so true a frind, and thankful to you al the dayes of her lyffe, for a father could not doe more, and very few would do so much. But, to conclude, wil you

promise to come againe to my sonne, if God keep you in lyffe and libertye ? I promised to do it ; and she said, then I wil mak a young man, who had bein his first maister, named De Freiche, come and repeit him, that he forget not what you have teached, and expect your retour, how long soever you stay in your voyage. So we concluded.

Then she asked what moneyes I had to mak my voyage. I tould her how much I hade. She said that was not aneugh. I said I must mesnage wel the litle thing that I have, for I can gette no more ; yea, I did lay my long cloathes in gage to help to mak up that litle soume, which was the last bout that I had to shoot. She was touched with compassion, and said I wil lenne you some, because that which you have wil not suffice you, for you know not how long your voyage may be, nather what accidents of seiknes or other distresses may befall you. So she went and brought to me fourty Spanish pistolles, which she never redemanded until I had resigned my cure, whole six yeares after that I had receaved them, at which tym, having received nynne hundreth francs for my teathes, I did pay her thankfully. When she did bring me this moneyes, she said, I wil lenne you this much, which wil oblige you to retourne againe, if it were but to paye me, although you should not gette the child away with you. I promised that, if God did keep me in lyffe and liberty, I should retourne, ather with the yong ladye or without her, and paye her when I should be able ; and so I did tak my leave from her.

Upon Monday, in the morning, I parted from Boisdennemetz about eight houres, wher I had stayed from Saterdag about nidday until Monday, to concert my voyage with Madame, as I have shoven, and to rest my unworthy hors, who was nothing the better. I had behind my sadle a great cloack bagge, in which wer my new cloathes and cloack, and a new hatte, and at the torre of my sadle two Dutehe pistoletes with wheele workes, and at my two sides two Scots pistoletes with snape workes, and a very wyd musketon, charged with nynne pistolet balles, hinging from my neck, and a good sword at my side. To be short, if my hors had bein serviable, I would not have feared any one man ; but knowing the inhability of my hors, I was not without apprehension of the worst, yet I did mak a good mine, as the French say, although my play was badde. I was not gone one liggue from Boisdennemetz, when, in the plaine of Vilers, I did mete four horsmen, as frane voleurs as any wer in al Francee. I suspected no evil at the first sight of them, but before they came within two hundreth spaces to



me, they did divide themselves to come two on every hand of me, by which I knew they were voleurs, and said to myself, if I shal be robbed heir, I shal never be able to mak this voyage, nather now nor never, for I wil never get again so much money together ; and if I mak it not, I wish rather to dye than to live, therfor I must do my best to defend myself. I know that I must dye ons, and if my day be come, then I shal endeavour to selle my skinne as deare as I can, and leave the event of al to God, who, I hope, wil assist me at this tyme and ever. If I sie any of them put his hand to a pistolet, I shal prevein them with my musketon, which is readye, with which I hope to make theis two who come on my lefte hand lye at their horses feete, and then leape from my hors, who is not able to serve me, and with the two pistolets which are on my girdle, and with my sword, do the best that I may against the other two ; and, so resolved, did let my hors stepe forward at his owne leasure, until I did rencounter them, as they had divided themselves, two on every hand of me. They sturred not, nor I nather, but passed by unsaying anything. They looked grievously upon me, I sielyk upon them ; for I belive nather of us was fain of another. I looked over my shoulder to sie if they were making show to returne, and seing them ryding forward, and not so much as looking back, I did reprouve myn owne thoughts, and said to myself, certainly theis men are not voleurs, althought they have indead very bad meanes. So I passed on my way, asking in the villages, as I passed, if they did hear any thing of voleurs on the great way ; ther answer was commonly, it is merveillous how you have escaped them, that you are not devalized, for the way is al couvered with them. These were no comfortable newes to me who had al my moneyes upon me in gould, and no better hidde then laid in a piece of paper in my gousée. I have admired many times since my owne negligencie, who, burning with the desire of making that voyage, which I could not do without moneyes, should not have been more careful to conserve from voleurs, taking them by letter of change at Dieppe, which Mr. Muat or Mr. Killoch would have given me at the very first word. And I know no other reason of my so stupide negligence but only this, that Almighty God would draw his owne glory out of my fault, showing that his divine protection was more powerful to sauve both myself and my moneyes, then al humain industry could have bein ; and that I should thank and praise him for my sauve gard, unascryving any thing to myselfe, which, as I should, I do, and shal do al the dayes of my lyffe. I dined, and my

hors lykwayes at Equi, because I would not make any stay at Fleurie, so nere the wode, fearing there might be voleurs ther, as ther were, who would wait upon my going through the woode.

As I went downe the hille towards Flenrie, I did sie an honest lyk old paysan going befor me. We went downe together, but I made him kepe a distance from me, knowing the weakness of my hors. When I was passing Fleurie, the taverners, as their custom is, cryed, Monsieur, we have good wyne, and good oates, wil you give your hors a misure of oates. To whom I answered, my hors hath dyned, and myself also, I wil not light downe. Then a strong yong fellow did come out of a taverne, who said to me, Monsieur, it is very dangerous for you to go through the wode alon in theis tymes, if you wil stay but a litle, my maister is in the taverne, drinking a chopin with another gentleman, they wil convoy you through the wode. I answered him, saying, I do not feare any man, nather in the wode nor out of it, and therfor I will not stay one moment for any company. I suspected that they might be voleurs, and he also. Then said he, since you have so good courage, I wil go with you. The way, said I, is free to al men. But why do not you wait upon your maister to come with him, seing, as you say, the danger is so great. O, said he, they are two wel mounted, and fear no voleurs. I belive you, said I, so we went on until we entered in the wode, and then my fellow redoubled his pas to come nerer to me, which I seing, toured the mouth of my musketon towards him, and commanded him to stay ther. Wherfor that, said he? Because I wil so, said I; thou shalt not make me thy praye. Therfor, if you advance but one foote, I shal discharge my musketon in thy belly. He stood and said, you nede not feare, having so good a batton in your hand. I feare no man, said I, but I wil mak the feare if thou remove one foote forward, until I be out of the wode. In the meane tyme, I was ever advancing forward, and myn eye towards him. So seing that I did hold my gunne bent towards him, he tourned his back to me, and crossing the way, went in the thiek of the wode, and I did not sie him any more. Then the paysant, who al the tym had kepted a good distance from me, but so as he did both sie and heare what passed betwixt us, said, God be blessed, Sir, who inspired you with his grace to distrust this voleur, and hold him back from you, for if you had suffered him to come nere you, he would undoubtedly have gotten hold of your cloathes, and pulled you downe from your hors, and stobbed you. Behold he is hyding himselfe in the wode.

You have sauved your owne lyffe and myn; for how soone he had killed you, he would have killed me also, for fear that I might discover him heir-after. Nay, said I, it is not now that I learned to know how dangerous it is for a horsman to suffer a footeman unknown to approach too nere him, and, therfor, I made you, of whom I suspected no evil, hold a little off of me. God blesse you, Sir, said he, and deliver you from al evil. So we passed the rest of the wode, discoursing of this vallet and his maister. Sir, said the paisant, they are vallets the one day, and maisters the other, toure about, to be the lesse suspect, passing for gentlemen of quality with valets on foote and hors. When we had passed the wode a quarter of a ligue, the paisant went to his village, a litle off of the great waye, who, before his parting, joyned his hands, and prayed God to keep me from al badde fortune. I thanked the paysan for his good wishes, and rode forward.

When I was gone from Fleurie the mater of one ligue and a halfe, I see meting me twelfe or thretein horsmen. They passed on my right hand about fyfty paces off of me, the way ther was so broad. It was the Prevost de Marishaux, with his archers, come from Rouen (upon the greivous plaintes of those who had been voled, and sindries killed), to seek the voleurs, and tak them. When they were just over the way against me, one of them did spur his hors towards me; and I, not knowing yet who they were, bended my musketon in haste, and laid it to my check against him. He, seing me present my gunne to him, stayed, and said, we are not voleurs, we are seeking them. Then I laid downe my gunne, and he come to me, and asked if I had rencontred any. I tould him of the fellow in the wode, and that I belived they would find others in Fleurie; so he road away to his company. I did not speak to him of the four horsmen whom I had rencontred in the plain between Vilers and Richeuil, because I doutid if they were voleurs or not.

When I had ridden half a ligue from the place wher I did mete the Prevost with his archers, a gentleman of Rouen, named Du Hamel, a rich partisan, did overtake me. He was very wel mounted, and was riding fast. I, seing him come al alon, said to myself, I was never yet affrayed at one man, be who he wil, frind or foe, let him come, I think myself good aneough for one man. When he was very near me, he left a distance betwixt us, and, being side to side, we did salute one another, and asked from whence and wher we wer bound. And finding that we both were come from Paris, and bound to Rouen, he bidde me ride faster. I said, that was more as I

could doe, for my hors could not hold up with his, because he was both lasche and wearied. Then I wil ryde, said he, as your hors may, because we have anough of day, and wil be more able to defend ourselves than sindred. Then he asked, if I had not seen any voleurs in the way from Paris? You sie, said I, that I am not yet devalized, but I belive ther be some in Fleurie, or in the wode; and tould him of the fellow, who, pretending to go through the wode with me, yet stayed in the wode, when he did sie that I would not suffer him to approach nere me, who had tould me that his maister was drinking with another gentleman, and willed me to stay upon their convoy, which I would not do, suspecting them to be thre voleurs. You nede not dout therof, sayed he, and you did wel not to stay for their convoie, who would have robbed you; and yet better in empesching the single voleur to come at you. For the three being together might have striped you naked, unkilld you, unlesse you made resistance; in that case, they do kill, if they be not first killed; but the footeman could not robbe you, unkilld you first, which he had persuaded himself he could do, otherwayes he would not have left his company to go with you. He hath perceived your hors to be wearie, and doutd not to get hold of your cloathes and pull you down, and stobe you in the falling, and then tak your moneyes when he had trailed your dead bodye among the bushes out of the way. And that conqueis would have bein al his owne, whatsoever he had found upon you, and never tould his companions of it. For they do willingly hide what they can from one another, and do not make commune, but what they tak al together.

But, said he, did you not see no others in all the way? Non at al, said I, perswading myself that the four horsmen whom I had met in the morn- ing were not voleurs, since they had not assaulted me. Did you not, said he, mete four horsemen haveing such couleurs of cloaks, and horses of such henes? Yes I did, said I, and when they were yet two hundreth paces from me, they did devyde themselves, and come two on eache hand of me, and passed by me so, not sturring nor speaking to me, nor I to them. Wher did you mete them, said he? Upon the great plaine betwixt Vilers and Richeuille, wher the way is very broade, said I. And they did nothing to you? said he. Nothing, said I. That is merveillous, said he, for ther be no franker voleurs in al France. Indeed, I thought, said I, by their devyding themselves to come on each hande of me, that they were voleurs, and intended to enclose me among them: but when I had passed freely, they not sturring,

I did accuse my thought as injurious to them who had never wronged me. God hath had a special care of you, said he, who suffered them not to do you wrong. For they do not spair any whom they can rencounter. And to confirm his opinion of them, did show me wher they had wonded his hors, juste behind the eares, and tould me the story how they did it. I was, said he, comeing with an messenger, non but he and I, he perceived them afarre of comeing over thwart the field, and tould me that they were voleurs. The messenger being on foote, with gross baskets upon his hors, ful of weares, that he was carying; wherfor not being party aneugh to resist, we went to a village a litle distant from the roade to eschew them, and ther we drank eache of us a chopin, thinking that they would be gone farre of ere we had done; for we stayed purposely half an houre to be delivered of them. But as we did go out of the village, we did sie them a litle befor us, ryding very slowly, as such men use to doe. Wherfor seing no other meanes to sauve myself, I did mak a caracol, trusting in the swiftnes of my hors (who is much better than any of theirs), to go from them so, and they discharging eache one an pistolet at me, wherof one did wond my hors in the toppe of his neck, which you sie. I thank God that it did not touch his head, being so very nere it, which if it had done, we both should have died ther. For theise men spair no mens lives who aither resist, or flye from them to sauve themselves. But it pleased God to tak me from them by the swiftnes of my hors. After I was out of their danger, I looked back, and sie them beat excessively the messenger, and tak from him al that he had of money or weares which could be usseful to them. I did pitye him, but could not help him. For it would have bein great folishnes in me to have exposed my owne lyffe and his, retourning in vane to succour him, after I had so nerely escaped myselfe. So discoursing together of our adventures we arrived at Rouen, and from Rouen I went to Dieppe, in company of twelfe horses or therabout, the most part taverners, who had bein buying wyne in Rouen, and the rest were English passengers going to embark at Dieppe for England, wher I could not go with them, beecause England was al in combustion, and the Scots armie was in England, and suffered no man to passe unsearched very narrowly.



## § 7. Showing my Voyage from Dieppe to Holy Island.

I was forced to stay in Dieppe eight weekes, and let four Scots shippes passe away ungoing in them, three to Aberdeine and one to Dundye, because ther were in each of them passagers who did know me, and to whom I could not wel trust myself. I did go in the last of fyve, a shippe of Leith going to that towne. I agreed with the skipper for my passage. He would have no lesse than a Jacobus, which I promised him the more willingly, because he had no passagers who knew me. Ther were, indeed, two captains, to wit, Captain Campbel of Denhead, and Captain Curre, who did suspect me very much, and said one to another: This man must be some Preist or Jesuit, for he is a north contrie man, and hath not gone in theise shippes which wer going to the north, to wit, to Aberdeine and Dundye. and now goeth in this shippe to Leith. Certainly he doth it, because he darrest not tak land wher he is knowen. I did victual with them, paying the third part of the provision which they had laid in the shippe.

The night between Saturday and Sunday, the twenty-ninth of March, 1643, I had a feareful dreame, shal I cal it, or a vision, which was this: I thought that I was going to Scotland, and, in my way, I thought that I did find myself suddenly upon a marvelous great precipice, a whole ligue of lenth, haveing at my left hand an rock of that lenth, and as heigh as the steeples or toures of Notre Dame at Paris, and as straight up; and at my right hand a precipice al along the rock, and deip as the rock was heigh; and the way betwixt the rock and the precipice no broader then the breadth of my foote. And I thought that, before I did sie wher I was, I did sie myself in the midst of that so narrow a way, having half of a ligue befor me, and as much behind me, and admiring the rock and precipice for their lenth, height, and deepnes, but most of al the narownes of the way betwixt them, which affrighted me most, because, standing on my lefte foote, and my right foote in the aire, above the precipice, for want of place to sette it on, which I could not find unles I would sette the inner side of it close to the rock, which, if I should doe, I could not move any more, for my left foote could never passe between the rock and my legge unthrowing me downe in the precipice. Readie to fal into it, I looked befor me, and sie. I thought, wel half an ligue of such way, and, looking over my shoulder, as much behind me, then I thought that I said, Jesus, how am I come thus in the midst of this precipice, or how shal I winne out of it. And looking

downe into the deipth, I sie many bones of men and of horses who had fallen downe in it, and so perished ; and looking upon theis terrible things, I beganne to faunte, and said to myself, heir I sie I must end my lyffe, for my hart did never give over until now in any danger that ever did befall me. And having no more vigour nor force to uphold myself, but bowing to fall downe, I heard a voice calling and saying to me, Feare not, feare not ; I am coming to sauve you, and tak you out of this danger. I thought I looked up to sie who was it that called so, and I perceived that it was my Ladye of Aboyne, the mother of the yong ladye for whom I was going to Scotland. I thought I did sie her comeing very nimble along the sid of the rock, notwithstanding the narownes of the way, redoubling often tymes theis same words, Feare not, feare not, I am come to sauve you. I thought I did sie her, juste as she used to go when she was liveing, with a great mourning vale of black taffetas. Seing her persone, and hearing her voice, methought my hart did tak courage againe, and hould me up until she did come at me, and, taking my hand in hers, lead me to the end of the precipice, encouraging me ; and at the end therof did show me a towne, with a large castel above the towne, and said your way wil be to goe through that towne, but do it not, for if you goe through it you wil be in as great danger theire as you have bein in heir, and I wil not be able to sauve you ther, as I have done heir. And, befor she parted from me, said, tak my child with you out of Seotland ; and I promised to do al that I could for her child, and, bidding me farewell, evanished out of my sight, and I wakened out of my sleepe as wel as out of my dreame or vision, cal it as you please, and slept no more that night, for the feare which I had dreaming troubled me waking ever until I did find the exposition of it, which I fand very cleare shortly thereafter, as I shal show in its owne place heirafter.

I tould my dreame the next day, which was Sunday, to Father Duncan, who said it is an advertisement of some accident, wherein you wil runne hazard of your lyffe ; and, therfor, I would not have you going that voyage, but rather to wreat for her to come to you, and stay heir attending her comeing ; for I hope she wil not be so earles of her owne wel as to neglect such an offer as the King and Quene hath made to her by your sollicitation. Nather wil the Marquis of Huntley, I belive, suffer their Majesties benevolence, so honorable and profitable both to him and to her, to be frustrat of its effect through his fault or hers ; for we nather read in history, nor hear by any report, that ever their Majesties, or any others souveranes,

did wreat for any child to come from a forren contrie to receave from them so honorable enterteinment. It would be called a work of no smal charity to bestow that upon her if she were already in their contrie, and constrained through necessity to supplicat them for it; but that they should be moved to inveit her by so cordial letteres to come to them, the lyk hath never bein sein or heard of; al which wil be loosed if you, going for her, parish by any accident in the way. Therfor have patience to attend her comeing heir, and do not, through your too fervent zeale, overthrow at ons both her profiteit, and your honor and heres. Certain it is, that she is much honoured by their Majesties invitation, and you deserve more who procured it to her. I wil not flatter you, but I wil say the truth, you have done more for that ladye, howsoever the mater succide heirafter, il or wel, then ever any preist did for any other orpheline, noble or ignoble, or wil doe heirafter, as I may belive, for you do dispyse as naught your meanes, your travel, yea, your very lyffe for to do her good.

I answered, saying, Father, you know she is but a child, not as yet fourteine yeares ould, and cannot know whether it wil be good or badde for her to come to France, and therfor cannot have any powerful motive to spurre her to leave her owne contrie and kinred, and go among strangers in an stranger contry, and I know how indifferent the Marquis of Huntley wil be whether she go or stay at home; and therfor, if I do not earnestly sollicitat her coming away, she wil never be sent away; wherfor I must go home for her. Arryve what God wil, I shal do my duetye. The Laird of Craigge, who was then in Dieppe, and his ladye, newly come from Scotland, did encourage me better when I did tell him my dreame, bidding me tak courage, and not feare any hazard which may indead arryve unto you, said he, but assure yourself that God wil never lette you parishe in so charitable a voyage; for I assure you a greater charity cannot be done to any noble orpheline then that which you intend to doe unto her, and when you shal sie her, trust me you wil think your paines wel bestowed, although you had taken them only to deliver her out of the corporal miserye which she endureth. For she is not traited nor respected lyk one of her sorte, but dyspyed and contemned, even by the very least in the house, as I have learned from some who sie it but too frequently. You wil find her farre cheanged from what she was when her mother lived. For, as I am tould, she hath nather hydde, nor hew, nor harte, but is altogether dejected, as a personne ledde in captivity, without any hope of delivery. And much

more wil your labour be acceptable unto God, if you deliver her soule from heresie, in which she is but too farre engaged alreadie. And therfor go courageously forward, for in delivering her soule you shal sauve your owne. I thank you, Sir, said I, for your encouragement, although I hope that I do not much neade it; for my resolution was taken before I came to Dieppe. You may think I were a great foole, if for a dreame, how badde soever, I should frustrat of their effect so much toyle and paines as I have taken. But truely I do not so aisely change my resolutions. I did consider even the worst things that could arrive unto me, and resolved to endure them rather then abandon that child; and therfor, in despite of al hazards, I wil go forward, and put her in a better caisse, or dye for my enterprise. I wil doe my duety, and leave al the rest unto God.

The next Wednesday, which was the first day of April, 1643, I embarked in the road of Dieppe, betwixt eight and nynne houres in the fornoone. When I had climmed up the syde of the shippe, and had my right foote lifted up in the aire to sette it in over the syde of the shippe, my left foote did slidde of the uppermost guirth, which go along the sides of the shippes, and I did falle downe backwards in the boate which had brought us ther from the caye. By good fortune, which is no other thing then Gods providence, I did light straight overthwart the seates in the boate upon my back, and my head did not touch them, otherwayes my neck had bein brocken through myn owne waight. The two captains, to wit, Cambel and Currer, said, with a great oath, that I was killed, but I said I am not so much as hurted, and rising, gotte up to the shippe againe, and entred in the shippe. I had indead some peine in my shoulders and reines, which felle upon the hard planckes; but that was not a place fit for medicamenting such partes, and therfor I did not tel my peine until I came to Berwick, wher I was constrained to stay some days, to rubbe those parts with oile of hypericon, or mille pertuis, which did me much good.

We sailed that day, and Thursday and Fridday following, with a pretty gale of wind, but upon Saturday in the morning ther did come such an calme that we did not advance nor recule, for want of wind, and the sea was like a loghe for calmess. Upon the Sunday, which was Easter Day in France, and Palme Sunday in England, the fyfth day of Aprile, the wind did rise out of the north east, with a hudge great tempest in the sea, one houre or more befor the brack of day, which continued til Tuysday. This violent winde rising more and more, made the sea swell up and her waues

rise lyk montaines, and then brack themselves with hudge noyse; and ther felle such abundance of snow, and the flocons so broad, that one could not sie another being in the two endes of the shippe; and the wind and noyse of the sea were so loud that one could not heare what another said standing by them. In one word, I did never sie a terrible tempest in the sea and land equal to that for wind and snow. The skipper commanded oft tymes the steersman to hold the shippe to the sea, and he answered ever that we were more as tenne ligues from the land. But the skipper had most reason, for the truth was that we were hard at the land, althought we could not sie it for the abundance of snow falling downe; as experience did show us in the afternoon, when the snow held up a litle space, for then we did sie the land, and our shippe close by the Scares of England, and a tempestuous wind blowing us towards them; and al the sailors cryed we are al loosed men.

Our skipper, by the advice of Captain Campbel, resolved to runne his shippe to the land, and so loose her to sauve our lives, as he belived ther was no other way to sauve us. I did not yet know the resolution which he, with the counsel of his saillers and Captain Campbel, had taken, but when I did sie him taking his money out of his coffer, and putting it about his middle, as it was in a long bagge, and one of his saillers cutting the cable which fastened the float boate to the dicke of the shippe, I, seing that preparation, asked the skipper what he meant to do? He answered, that he was resolved to loose his shippe to sauve his owne life and ours. I replied, a badde resolution, skipper, by my faith; for that is not the right way to sauve, but rather to lose us al, for your shippe cannot approach nere to the land, since you say that these scares are many rockes covered with a shallow water. How then can your shippe sail over them towards the land? If she stick upon any of them, she wil be suddenly brocken and overturned, and we al drowned. I have (said he) loused the flotte botte to be in readines to sauve us. But, said I, if your shippe suddenle overturne or cleive, the boat must overturn with her, and so it shal do us no good. But put the case that we al enter in the boate, which is not lickly we shal, in such a sudden fright, can your boate resist this raging sea better than your shippe. Do not you sie that the jawes which pas over the sides of the ship doe sometimes beat downe the saillers upon the dick? Would not the very first of such brocken walles fille your boate and sinck it? Nather can any of us be able to swim to the land, two miles from us; yea, althought



we could swime that farre, yet the rageing wales, and brocken water would so toste us to and fro among the rocks, that we would soon give over swimming, or swime from the land rather than to it. For we would nather sie nor know wher or what way we wer going. It is a desperat cours that you tak to run us al to a certain death; the worst that we have to feare is but death, we nede not go seeking it; we wil think that it cometh too soone, when soever it cometh.

Then Captain Campbel spoek and said: Skipper, he hath reason, for if the shippe sauve us not, the boate cannot, and so we are ever but dead men; yet let us eschew death so long as we may. What then shal we do, said the skipper, I see no other way to eschew death, but by running the shippe to land. Mak every man work, said I, and hold your shippe to the sea, as far from the land as you can, and cal upon God for help, and he will, I hope, in his mercy, bring us to some port. The skipper at last did yealde, and commanded to tye again the flotte boate to the dicke, and laide his money in his coffer, and commanded the steersman to hold the shippe to the sea with al the strenth he had, and so we resoomed courage again. But shortly therafter, not above a quarter of an hour, a little shippe of Holland, they cal them huyes, being a musket shotte befor us, and as much nerer the land than we were, did stick upon a rock of these scares, and lifting up her prove sometimes, and sometimes her puppe, did cleive in two. We did not sie any boate goe from her, which made us judge that non of them were sauved. Then al the saillers, except the skipper and his mate, cryed against me for dissuading them from running to land when they were resolved to do it, and said that must be our fortune also, when we shal arrive ther. Do not go so nere the land, said I, but hold to the sea, and we shal go saiffe by al theis rockes. If we had run to land, when you would, we had bein err now, as they are now, dead, for running themselves as they thought to land, but in verity to death. For it is not possible to pass over these scares unbrocken upon them.

I tould then my dreame of the precipice, and my deliveray out of it, to Captain Campbel, to encourage him, but under fained names, to wit, that a pour gentlewoman, my neighbour, dyeing, lefte her only child to my tutory, who is at present with my wiffe at Lamphanan, and how the mother of this girle did come meting me in the preecipice, which I have deserved heir above, and nede not repeat it againe, and taking me by the hand, saying, I am come to save you, did lead me saiffe out of it, and badde me be a

father to her child. He did indeed give eare to what I said, but as I perceived had no greater hope of saiffye for it; which is no merveil. For dreams, althought real visions, yea, even true revelations, have no great powar to engender credulity in others then the dreamers themselves, or the immediate receivers of the revelations, unlesse the wils of the hearers be touched and disposed thereto by some other more pouerful agent, as experience doth show us. Yet after our delivery he thought upon my dreame, and in our logging said to me: Rosse (for so I called myself in the shippe), if you be not a good tutour to your pupile, God wil punish you, for you are saved for her sake, and al we for yours.

All our saillers, working for lyffe and death, and doing as much as men could do, did hold the shippe so couragiously from the scares, notwithstanding that the north-east wind did blow her strongly towards them, that we passed by them al untouched them; and then they, and we who were passingers, beganne to tak courage, hoping that our greatest perilles were past. But our joye was very short. For within lesse tyme than halfe of an houre, we were in as great perplexity how to pass by the Fearnly Yland, which is no other thing but a heigh rock, four sqaire in the sea, a mile or therabout from the land, which mak a baye like a halfe cercle about the rock, upon which is standing a strong lyk castle, almost as larg as the rock itselfe. Our difficulty was to know what cours we should tak, whether to hold upon the sea side, or upon the land side of the rock. Both sides were dangerous. The sea syde, because the wind was mighty strong, and blowing toward the rock, which could not fail to brack the shippe in peices, if the wind should strick her against it. This they consedered as very hazardous; but thought the land side yet much worse in respect of the bay in which, if we should ones enter, the wind blowing us to the bottom therof, we could never bring the ship about againe against the wind, and consequently our shipwrack was inevitable. Wherfor they concluded to hold the shippe betwixt the sea and the rock, and for al that they could do, the side of the shippe hersled so rudely against the last corner of the rock, that the skipper thought that a planck had bein rugged of of her side; but the shippe was sound. And then we conceived hope over againe. But very soon after that our danger appeared, and really was greater than ever. For before we had sailed the space of halfe an houre or therabout, the wind had driven us within the shotte of an pistolet to the land insensibly, because for the snow falling downe so thiek we could not sie it.

How soone the showre did lighten up, which was but for one moment almost, our skipper and al his saillers did fal upon their knees, and bid us al recommend our soules to God, for we wer dead men. For, said he, the first jaw of broeken water that shal fal upon the shippe wil cleave her in two. Indeed, it was a terrible sight to behold the jawes rising at the land, whether banks or rocks I know not, for al was covered from us, who did sie nothing but the water rising heigher than the toppes of the mastes of our shippe, and bracking itself in the aire, falle downe with a terrible noyse over the next jawe succeeding to it so speddely that the former was not wel downe when the next following was at its height, ready to brack and falle downe, succiding so continually on to another. Two things did cast al our saillers in despair of their lyves, as they told us after; the one was that they persuaded themselves, although falsly, that we were gone by the Holy Iland, wher they intended to retire from the tempest; the other was, that they did sie it impossible for mortel men, aither by strenth or arte, to get the shippe mouved any forder from the land, the wind being contraire. I reproached to the saillers their want of courage, saying that they should not give over working for their owne lives, although we be more lyke to dye then to live; yet, so long as we have lyffe, we should never give over the conserving of it. Nather nede the working hender the recommendation of our soules to God, for we may do both at ons; for God wil that men help themselves as much as they may, and then he wil help them doing what they may not. Then the skipper answering, said, we have done what we can, and now al mans work is vane; God only now can help us, if it be his holy wil, otherwayes heir we must dye. I promised a crowne to the cook-boye, named Alexander Robertson, borne in Buchan, whose fater I did know, to sit at the rudder and hold the shippe from the land as much as he might; but he, being a boye of fyfteine years, could not mouve her, and, therfor, gave it over, saying he would dye among his maates, that is fellows.

It was a most pitefull thing to sie and heare such sadde lamentations and adieus as was their made. Captain Campbel, after he had recommended his soule to God, and cryed mercy from him for al his offenses, with many sadde teares did bidde adieu to his wyffe and children, and recommend them to God, saying he would never sie them againe. And so did the skipper and al his saillers. Captain Campbel his teares did touch me much, for he was a very galant and discreet gentleman, and did witnes then great

love towards his wyffe and children, which made me regrate his casse mor than myn owne. He had three or four valets and a chirurgian, who came al about him, weeping bitterly, and saying, good maister, we are even come to dye heir at your feete. Then his chirurgien, called Makeetor, said, Captain, did not you and Captain Currer say that Rosse (so I called myself ther) was a Papiste? The devil tak my soule if he be not an atheist. Behold if ever he oppenneth his mouth to recommend his own soule to God, which he could not omit in such a tym if he beleived in God. Hold thy peace, said Captain Campbel, he doth not cry nor torment himself, but is praying in his owne way as faste as any of us, for I sie his lippes going very faste.

I wil confesse heir the veritye, to the glorye of Almighty God first, and then to the honor of my noble Ladye of Aboyne, my deliverer under God, that althought she had shoven me in my slepe the great favour that she was to do me when al humain help did faile, yet when I had greatest reason to put my trust, under God (who is the only giver of al good things), in her, I did give over al hope of liveing any longer, and said to myself, dreams are but deceiving things; I dreamed that she did help me out of this danger, but I sie I must end my lyffe heir. Yet, in dying, I have this comfort, that nather she nor her husband can accuse me before God of neglecting their child. Appearantly he is not pleased with my labour, since I must finish heir without any fruit. I can do no more but what it pleaseth God to do by me, who am but the instrument, which can do nothing of itself. I am content rather to die heir then to live and sie their child miserable.

In the mean tym that I was in this despair of my lyffe, as wel as al the rest, I myself and others also did perceive that our shippe, abandoned by al men, did go forward along the land side, with all her sailles full of wind, which, unless miraculously hindered, should and would have dryven her under the surging waves, and brocken her at the very first pouffe, as indead I was looking ever wher and when a vale of brocken water should fal upon her, and cleave her, as our skipper had said a little before that it would. This my sieing her advance hard by the brocken water, and not approche nerer it, notwithstanding the violence of the wind, should have made me know that she was ledde forward by an hand more powerful than the wind, which could not be any mortelle thing. These things, I say, should have strenthened and confirmed my confidence of her assistance; at

the least, I should learne from this my fault to know my owne weaknes. But a tempestuous sea, threatening at every moment death, is more powerful to move a waking man to dispare than any dreame or vision had in his sleepe to hope safety.

In the mean tym that we al of us, despairing lyffe, were prepariing ourselves the best way that we could for death, our shippe was stil advancing along the side of the land, which we might have touched with the shotte of an pistolette, as if she had bein ledde by an rope, the space of two miles, with al her sails up, and ful of side wind, until she came to the port of Holy Yland, which hath a very difficile and narrow entrye, betwixt two very litle hilles; and when she was just against the port, the water, which was rysing in the mouth of it heigher then the hilles at the two sides, did open itself and stand as a walle on every side of us, until our shippe, turning her head where her broadside was, did enter in the port, and, how soone we were entred in, did close againe as it was, and raged so cruelly that a shippe of Yarmouth, following us within a musket shot to us, could not enter the port, but did cast anere the mater of two hundreth paces from it, wher she was brocken upon the night, and no man saved. The contrie people conveyed the next day, to tak the goodes which the sea had cast to the land, among which ther was a casset ful of castor hattes, with gould hattebandes, for the which the minister of the parishe, a Scotsman, called Lindsay, and a gentleman dwelling nere the yland, did feight, and the minister did sore wound the gentleman; and the comon people did get away the casset, and brack it, and every one tak away what he could get of it, whilst the church and the state were feighting for it in vane. The shippe was a faire shippe, and before day al brocken in so smal peices, that ther was not so much as a plancke of her cast to land which had fully four feete of lenth. It was a pitiful spectacle to sie the dead bodyes, all brocken, heir a shoulder, ther a legge, ther a thigh. Ther wer not two members or partes holding together, but al were disjoynted by the force of the tempest, which continowed eight and fourty houres.

But to return againe to our owne selves in the porte. How soone our skipper did find his shippe in calm water, he did rise from his face, wher-upon he was lying upon the overloft or dick, and said, gentlemen, thank God, for we are saved by the mercy of God, beyond our expectation; and Captain Cambel, answering him, said, skipper, we have raison indead to thank God, and not you, who abandoned us in our greatest necessity. But



God, who devyded the Read Sea to let the Israelites pass throug it, did divid the sea heir, to lette us enter the porte, otherwayes we should never bein able to come in. I did sie visibly the sea oppen itself, and stand lyk a walle on each syde of us until we was in, and then closed again as it was befor, and not so much as one droppe of water hath fallen upon us. The skipper said, Sir, we did al sie the same, and we must acknowledge that we are saved miracoulously, without any humain aide. And as to that you say, we did abandon you in your greatest nede, truely, Sir, we did not abandon you, so long as we were able to serve you; but, when we were not able to do any more, we could not dye lyk atheists, unrecommending our soules to God, lyk Maister Rosse, who said never so much as Lord have mercy upon him. Lette Maister Rosse alon, said Cambel; he is a better Christian than any of us al. For we al have bein sauved for his sake, utherwayes we had parished al, if he had not bein in our company. And tould them my dreame, juste as I had told it to him; and said at the end therof, now, Rosse, if you be not a good tutour to your pupil, God wil punishe you; for you have bein sauved for that child's sake, and we for yours.

Captain Cambel did mete with Captain Foulartoun in Edenbrough, and tould him our danger, and how we were delivered out of it by the supernatural help of a dead gentlewoman, who left one Rosse, a gentleman of Lamphanan, tutour to her daughter. He dreamed that he come upon a great precipice in his voyage to Scotland, and that this dead woman did come to him in it, and, holding him by the hand, ledde him out of it, and just as he dreamed, our ship was ledde, as by a rope, from Fearnys Castle to Holy Yland, in by the side of the lande, with al her sailes up, and ful of wind, blowing her to the land, from which she was not distant forty paces al the tym betwixt theis two ylands, and did never go nearer nor forder from it, until she came to the port of Holy Yland, and ther the brocken water oppened itself, and she did hurle herself in the port without any humain help; for al the saillers were lying on their faces on the dick at this tym, preparing themselves for death. Captain Foulerton said, do you know that Rosse? No, said Cambel, but he appeares to be an honest gentleman. He is a priest, said Foulerton, and was ghostly father to my Ladye of Aboyne, a distressed widow, sister to the late Earle of Errole. You haue heard how her husband was brunt in the Castle of Frendrette. She, dying but one yeare agoe, did recommend her only child to the spi-

ritual care of this priest, praying him to conserve her in the Catholik religion, which he, seing impossible for him to get done in Scotland, she being wher he could not have accesse to her, did go to France to sollicitat the Quene of France for maintenance for her to be bredde in France, which he did obteane, and letters from both King and Quene inviting her to come to their Majesties; which letters he hath brought with him with the hazard of his own lyffe. He should have come with us, but was not then ready to come away from Paris. Would any of your ministers do the lyk for any orpheline of your religion? Nay, said Cambel, we confesse that ther is more charity among you, then among us. Captain Foularton tould me this in Aberdeine.

#### § 8. My voyage from Holy Ylande to Strathboggie in the North of Scotland.

We staid at Holy Yland from Sunday at night until Tuysday at foure afternoone. About nynne houres in the forenoone upon Tuysday, the tempest having ceased, we went a walking in the yland, and did go to the gouverneur, called Robin Rugg, a notable good fellow, as his great read nose ful of pimples did give testimony. He made us brackfast with him, and gave us very good seek, and did show us the toure in which he lived, which is no strenth at al, bot lyk the watch toures upon the coastes of Italie. We did tack him with us to oure inne, and made him the best chere that we could. He was a very civil and jovial gentleman, and good company; and, among the rest of merry discourses, he tould us how the common people ther do pray for shippes which they sie in danger. They al sit downe upon their knees, and hold up their handes, and say very devoutely, Lord send her to us, God send her to us. You, said he, seing them upon their knees, and their hands joyned, do think that they are praying for your sauvetie; but their myndes are far from that. They pray, not God to sauve you, or send you to the port, but to send you to them by shipwrack, that they may gette the spoile of her. And, to show that this is their meaning, said he, if the shippe come wel to the porte, or eschew naufrage, they gette up in anger, crying, the Devil stick her, she is away from us. He stayed with us, telling us such merry tales, until we did tak horses for to ryd to Berwick, but the mater of six miles from the yland.

I stayed at Berwick thre dayes, cheifly to eschew the going to Edenbrough with Captain Cambel, because I had two necessary visites to mak by the way, the one to Morningtoun, and the other to Barnes, to sie the ladyes of theis places, who were the tantes of the yong ladye for whose sake I made the voyage. I would not lette Captain Cambel know that I intended to go ther, and therfor did feane myself wors then I was until he should be away, who stayed one day, and offerred civilly to stay until I should be wel to go together; but I would not suffer him to be at nedeles charges for my sake. So we sindered and went straight, he to Edenbrough, and I to Morningtoun, the day after he was parted from Berwick. I stayed at Morningtoun one night, to consult with that lord how I should proceid with the Marquis of Huntley concerning the patrimony of the yong ladye which the Marquis was obliged to pay her. Morningtoun was a very wyse nobleman, and I followed his counsel punctnally, which was to hinder her from discharging the Housse of Huntley of her tocher, if his lordship should aske it (which indead he did not), and to willingly give aquittance for so much as he would bestow upon her to mak her voyage to France, and also for her nouriteur since the death of her mother, if he did requyr it, which he did, as shal be shoven in its owen place. My Ladye Morningtoun was sister to the mother of the yong ladye, and that made me ask counsel at her uncle, who knew wel the practise of our contrie, and for her sake would give his best advysse very freely. I did go from Morningtoun to Barnes, to sie my Ladye Barnes, another sister of the child's mother, and was their one night very wel enterteaned, and from thence to Edenbrough.

When I arrived to Edenbrough, I loged in the Cowgate, in the house of Jhon Crawford, an honest old gentleman, and a zealous Catholick, who suffered much persecution for his faith. This Crawford had a daughter serving my Ladye Marquis of Douglas. By her moyen, I learned if my lady would admit me to her presence, and when; that is to say, what day, and at what houre. My lady sent me word to come to their loging in the Canongat, about nynne houres at night, and sent this gentlewoman to conduct me their, and convoy me to a secret chamber, wher my lord, her husband, and she did come, and made me very welcome. The next day I tould my lady that I was in paine how to get accesse to speak with her niece, Ladye Henriette Gordon, for this lady was sister to the yong ladyes father, and she did know my designe, for I had wreaten to her

ladyship from Paris, and communicated to her al my affaire. She, answering, said, you know, I doubt not, that my niece, Haddingtoun is become a precise Puritane, and is much opposite to the designe that you have taken to put my niece, Henriette, to the Quene of France, not for any other cause but only for religion. For she avoucheth that it would be both honourable and profitable for her to serve that Quene, but much prejudicial to her salvation, which should be preferred to al other things. And therfor since she hath heard from her brother, my Lord Gordon, that you were coming out of France for her, she keepeth her as a prisoner, and will not suffer her to sie nor speak with any Catholick. Her mothers sister, my Ladye of Barns, send for her to come to her house, and my Ladye of Haddingtoun refused her plainly. I send for her and was refused lykwayes; wherupon, in great anger, I sent a gentleman to tel my niece of Haddingtoun, that I would not be affronted by her refusing to lette my niece come at me, when I cal for her; and that if she do not send her to me this same day, I wil go the morrow and tak her out of her house, and never let her go within her gate again, and mak her know that I haue more authority over my owne proper niece, to kepe her with me, than she who is but her cousin germain. How soon she heard this, she sent her to my house incognito, and now I shall send for her to come to me. I hope she wil lette her come, or if she do not, I shal go for her myself, and bring her away for good and al; for your paines shal not be loosed for want of occasion to speak with her. Without her consent you can do nothing, for we cannot constrain her to go to France against her wil.

My Ladye Marquise did send for her, and she did come, and my ladye brought her to the chamber wher I was. And how soon I did sie her so much cheanged from that child which she was during the lyffe of her deare mother, I could not conteane my teares, and she seing me weepe for her, did weepe, letting her head fall downe on my breast, and in that posture we did shedde many salt teares together; and my Ladye Marquis, touched with compassion of us, went out of the chamber, saying, God comfort you both, for I cannot. So when we had by many teares eased a little the grieffe of our harts, I did ask her how she was used with her cousine germaine, and she tould me her bad usage, and that she had dreamed in her sleepe that she did sie a man coming to deliver her from the sadde condition wherin she was, but did not know who he was, nor did not think he had bein me, but some other person she never had sein. I pray God, my

child, said I, be your deliverer, as I hope he wil ; as to me, I shall be overjoyed to sie you brought out of this thraldome by whosoever, but I belive you may long suffer before any other than I come to succour you. Many, I dont not, do pitie you, but few wil put their hand to help you unlesse it be myself. Werby you may sie that I, upon whom you did least think, and perhaps not at al, have thought most upon you ; and I may with truth say, that since the decease of your blessed mother, you have bein the ordinary object of my thoughts, meditating both night and day how to bring you out of the pitiful casse wherin you are. And at last, I have found a good and honourable way, if you wil embrace it. And then I tould her very briefly what I had done for her ; and asked if she would accept the offer which the King and Quene of France had made her, and to move her the more therunto, did show her their Majesties letteres inviting her to come to them. She answered discreetly, that she could not do any thing of that importance without the advysse of her tutour, the Marquis of Huntley. I said, lette me be doing with that ; I shall do my best to procure it. So we sindered.

The earnest desir which I had to sie her ons out of Scotland, suffered me not to reste long in any place ; and, therfor, how soone I had spoken with her, and found her inclined to go to France, provyding that she got the consentment of her tutour, I did tak my journey towards the North upon Saturday, the eve of Easter. Twelfe houres chopped as I did enter in Leith, and our Puritans were at that time more as halfe Jewes ; for they had forbidden al servile work to be done from Saterdag at noone, until the next Monday, under great penaltyes ; so that a boate durst not go upon ferries to pass any man over, what pressant affair soever he could have ; and, therfore, I could not passe at Leith, or returne back again to Edenbrough. specially upon their day of general communion, because theis dayes they send searchers to al the innes to sie who are their absent from their churches ; and, if any be found, the hostes are finned for logging them or suffering them to be absent. So I did choose rather to be in the fields then in any town ; and, therfor did ridde up the water to Queenes ferry, wher I found that same prohibition in vigour. I offered a shilling for a boate, which cost but two pens ordinarily, but, if I would have given tenne pounds, the pover fellows durst not sette a boate to sea ; wherfor I resolved to ridde to the Bridge of Sterling, four and twenty miles out of my way, rather then stay in any of theis puritanical litle townes, which are much more zealous then the greatest. I logged that night at Borrowstown-



nesse, as I believe it is called. Myn host at supper asked me if I would communicat with him the morrow tymously. I answered, that I was pressed to go home to Fyffe, but would be tymly anough at Sterling, wher my affaires pressed me to go to passe the water at the bridge, seing I could not haue a boate until Monday, and that I would do my devotion at Sterling. He did acquiesce; and I loath to discours, fearing to be attraped therin, as ordinarye men are who feanie themselves to be of a contrie wherof they are not, therfor, immediatly after supper, I went to sie my hors suppe, and then called for my bedde, as if I had bein wearyed, and, paying myn hostesse at night, was mounted upon my hors by the brack of the day, and passing by the Fakirk, a place wher Walas resorted oft, I did sie the contrie people whigging their meres, to be tymously at the kirk, as if they had bein running for a pryse. They passed me, bidding me spurre my hors to communicat with them, to whom I gave no answer, but did ridde softly to the end of the Torrewode, wher I did find an aile house al alone.

Ther I asked how far it is to Sterling; the hoste said but two miles. I had never bein in theis partes before, and did not know what for a towne Sterling was, but had heard much of the towne, the castel, and the bridge. I was loathe to enter in Sterling until the people should be gone to the churches for the preaching afternoone, and therefore I stayed and dyned at the aile house, and when my watch showed a little over midday, I did tak my hors and ridde softly. When I had passed the Torrewood, which now hath nothing but some scattered oakes, dying for antiquity, which conserve the name and memory of that sometymes so famous a wood, specially in the history of Wallace, I, being come nere the towne, looked to the situation of itselpe and of the castel, and perceiving that it was a vive representation of the towne which my Ladye of Aboyne had shown me in my dreame, wherof I spoek above in the seventhe paragraphe, and had forbidden me to go throught, althought it would be my way, because I would be in as great hazard of my life ther as I had bein in the sea, and that she would not be able to deliver me out of it as she had done out of the tempeste. I said to myselpe, this is searly the towne that was shewn me in my slepe, and which I was forbidden to passe through. What shal I do, or how shal I pass by it? for I sie no way to go by this unhappy towne. I was truly in a very great amaisment, thinking with my owne selfe what cours I should take, saying, if I shal turne back again I shal be remarked

and pershewed in theis troublesome tymes, where every unknowen man is suspected to be an enemy to the one partye or the other, that is, to the Covenanters or to the anty-Covenanters. If I go forward, I must passe through the towne, for I sie a long stone wal at every syd of the town gate. I was no lesse troubled at the very sight of that puritanical towne then I had bein at the sight of the raging tempest, because my good ladye had tould me that my life would be in as great danger heir as it had bein in their, and that she could not helpe me heir as she had done ther. Yet, seing no other cours to be taken but to go forward, I staped on slowly, as one going to a place where he must necessarily perish, if he be not miraculously delivered above al expectation.

In this sadde condition, I looked up and did sie, the mater of three hundred paces from me, two gentlewomen going to the towne by another way, which joyned with myn about a hundred paces before we came to the gate. I spurred my hors to overtake them at the joining of the two wayes, which I did, and, saluting them very humbly, prayed them to show me how I could go to the bridge ungoing through the towne. The one of them asked me, why I would not go through the towne? as if she had thought I durst not go through it. I answered, saying, deare ladye, I am not affrayed to go through it, for I have no enemy nather within it nor without it, but, on the contrair, many good frinds, who may be hurtful to me at this tym, as I shal show you how. I have a processe of great consequence to be judged the morrow, which, if I loose, it shal mak me, my wyffe, and children, so many beggars, for my whole standing doth depend upon it. Now, if I go through the towne, I must go to the preaching, wher I shal be sein by many of my best companions, who shal draw me perforce to the wyne, and so I shal not get home this night with my recommendations to my judges, which hath coast me this journey to Edenbrough, and the morrow before nynne houres my caus shal be judged. My recommendations are from great personnes, and may do me much good if I can but deliver them to my judge in due tym, and, if not, I may suffer great harme, through my owne fault for not coming with them in tyme. And, notwithstanding I have used al the diligence that I can, for my nerest way was to passe over the water at Leith, but twelf houres being chopped yesterday before I entred Leith, no boat durst go upon the sea until Munday, and that obliged me to come this way to the bridge. But, if I be forced to stay al night heir, I shal be forder from my owne house then if I had remained

at Lieth; and if I gette no hinderance heir, I shal be at my own house befor I slepe. Heir I have shown you, dear ladyes, the caus why I would eschew the towne, and mak al the hast that possibly I can to gette home this night, and I pray you assist me therin if you can, and I shal remain ever your obliged servant.

They seemed to have compassion on me, and said, we are sorry that you have come so nere the towne, for now you can nather go back again nor turne to any hand unremarked, and followed as an enemy to the state, and therupon kept in prison until your cause of going by the towne be tried. But we belive your frinds wil gette you soon brought out of prisonne, but it would ever hender your voyage. Therfor your best cours wil be to enter in the towne, and you shal not go sex times the lenth of your horse in it, for we shal tak you out by a back gate. Speak not to us befor any body, but follow us wher we go. The towne gatte was shutte, and the wicket only open. I lighted from my hors, and bouldly followed them in, and they entered in at the first great gatte upon our right hand, but about twenty paces from the gatte of the towne. They left the dore open behind them, for me to follow, and when I was in they did boult it, for befor it was shut only with a sneek that lifted up, or, as the French call it, unloquet. The logging perteaned seurlly to some personne of quality, for it was very faire, a great courte builded on three quarters, and a baluster of iron on the side towards the garden, which had a faire and large parterre. By good fortune, there was no body in al the logging; whither no body was then dwelling in it, or that al the people were gone to the preaching, I cannot tel, for I was so glad to winne away that I did not enqnyr. They did take me through an alle of the garden to a stare which descended by the side of the towne walle. The stare was al of stone, and but litle more as one foote broade, and very steep downe. The walle was on the lefte hand of it, and nothing on the other side to sauve people from falling from it to the right hand. My hors made great difficulty to enter it, but one of the gentlewomen did tak the end of the bridle, and going befor him did draw him to her, and I did go behind and pousse him downe until he got his hindermost feet one marche downe, and then he did ranne downe al the reste, and the gentlewoman before him, and did hold him until the other and I came to her. They were two very handsome gentlewomen, and very civil, and, as I could judge, sisteres; for in visage and voice and clothing they were so lyk one another, that they could not be easily distin-

guished, unles both present together. When we were al downe, they did show me the way to the bridge, distinguishing it from the way which did go to Alloway, a litle towne upon the same water of Forth; and they bidding God give me good successe of my processe, and I givinge them many humble thanks for the great favour which they had done me, we separated. They went up the stare againe, and I to the bridge, but softly, until I had passed the bridge, and was up the bray on the other side of the water.

I thanked God with al my heart and soule, who had so mercifully provided theis two gentlewomen to deliver me out of the danger that threatened me. For if I had gone through the towne, (as I would have bein constrained to do if I had not rencountered happily theis gentlewomen,) I would have been sent with a gard to the castel, to bein examined. For the Scots army was then at Newcastle, and no stranger or unknowen man was suffered to passe through any towne that had a gouverneur until he were first presented to him; wher if I had been carried, my fortune had bein soone made. For the Earle of Marre was then gouverneur of the towne and castelle of Sterling, and his mother, my old Ladye of Marre, who carried a great swey in his affaires, and in the towne and contrie therabout, was an arche Puritan and Covenanter, and had bredde her children in that same profession, and hated preists above al things. It is true she had bein bredde a Catholick, but was perverted by her husband, who not only would not suffer her to have any exercise of her religion, but also threatened to gette separation from her if she would not turne to his religion; and, after her perversion, she became a despitful enemy to Catholicks. She had heared that the Quene of France had wreaten for the yong ladye to come to her Majestie, wherfor she desired the Contesse of Haddingtoun, who had the yong ladye in keeping, to send her to Sterling to her, and she, as her tante, on her mothers side, would keepe her, so as the Marquis of Huntley, her tutour, and uncle on her fathers side, should not gette her in his powar to send her to France. The Contesse of Haddington, by the providence of God, who had disposed better for the child, did it not, fearing to offend the Marquis her father, knowing that he and my Ladye Marre were alreadye no frinds for other things. But when the Marquis did send for his niece to come north to him, she made her promis to go to Sterling, under the pretexte to bidde adieu to her tante, who she knew would keepe her, and not suffer her to go north to the Marquis.

By this short digression, not superfluous, the reader may conjecture what

casse would I have bein in if I had bein caried to the castelle and searched, and the original letters of both the King and Quene of France, for the childs coming over, found upon me; specially since it is a crime punishable with death to tak out of the contrie any child of her condition, without express licence from the King and the Councel, according to the lawes of Scotland; which law was made preciselye to hinder the transportation of children to Catholick contries, for fear that they become Catholicks. What treatment would I have receaved from this ladye, who was so much opposite to the voyage of her niece? Certainly she would never have rested until I had bein hanged. I have oft tymes reflected upon theis wordes that my good ladye said to me in my dream, to wit, that she would not be able to save me in Sterling, as she had done upon the sea. By which I think she did show that blessed soules and angels do some tymes receive powar from God to deliver their suppliants from the rage and fury of al creatures destitute of raison and free wil, but not or very seldom from the handes of reasonable creatures, man or woman, endued with free wil. Wherfor, since the thrice happy soul of the one sister would not have been able, as she avowed, to have hindered the other sister from executing the power of her free wil against me, what due thanks can I be euer capable to rendre unto Almighty God, and to theis two gentlewomen, through whose bountiful charity I escaped the hands of myn enemies? but praise his holy name for ever, and pray, so long as I live, for his instruments, my benefactrices.

Heir I have shoven the explication of the second part of my vision or dreame, cal it as you wil. The sea did clearly show the terrible and dangerous precipice that I thought myself upon, and through which my noble ladye did lead me saiffe; and the very sight and situation of the castle of Stirling did remember me of the towne which was shoven to me, and through which I was forbidden to go, under no less paine then my lyffe.

¶ 9. What difficulty I had to persuade the Marquis of Huntly to consent to the voyage of his niece to France, and to send for her from Edenbrough to the North.

After this tyme, I did not runne any remarkable danger of my lyffe, although I was not in assurance so long as I was in Scotland. For the



ministers had persuaded some Puritanical gentlemen, great Covenanters, to mak some courses, in vane, for to catch me, such as the Lairds of Watertowne and Carnemuck, who did ryde with each of them their waiting gentleman, to tak me in Buchan, living or dead. They did never find me, although I did ryde divers tymes within the shotte of a pistolet to both their gates, my way lying so, which I would not leave for any feare of them. They both, with their two servants, did ryde ons three long miles after Captain Hebron, thinking he had bein me. He was going to Ennerungie to salut the Earle Marshal, and to ask from his lordship such men as were in his lands misdoers or unprofitable to the country, to disburthen the contrie of them, taking them to the warres. He had dynned in Ellon, and enquired ther if any yong men would serve the King of France for monyes; and, not finding any there, he did hire a guid to show him the way towards Peterhead, who did tak him by another more compendous way than the common. After he was returned, Carnemuck would neids mak him prisonnier for sauving a priest by secret wayes, whom otherwise they might have taken.

Captain Hebron, comeing bak again with four soldiers from the Earle Marshal, loged in Ellon, and his host, who had first betrayed him, did tel him how they had followed him, and he told it to me in Aberdein, and said that he regreated much that they had missed him; for, said he, myn hoste told me that by the description which he had given to Carnemuck of me, he persuaded himself that it behouved to be Fathier Blakhal, and non other, and the people who had sein you oft tymes rydding through that towne confirmed him in his opinion. If they had called me by your name, I would have knowen that they were seeking you, and would have letten them remain in their mistak, and yielded to them. I knew they would have brought me prisonnier to Aberdein in great triumph, and, when I would have bein arryved to the tolbooth gate, I would have sent for my comerades, the others captains, and their have tould who I was, and before the provest and baliffs of the towne affronted them, and shoven, by myn own experience, that his Majesties legalle subjects cannot ride peaceablie through the contrie to their affaires for such bussie bodyes as they, who runne lyk sleuth houndes after al gentlemen that they know not, to tak them for preistes. So this their chasse was published through Aberdein, and served to drinke many pointes of wyne to their shame. They both did know that I was their cousin, to Carnemuck by the Cheins, and to Watertowne be the

Oglebes of Bamffe, but their zeale towardes the Covenant was stronger then the natural love which should be among blood frinds; but yet their brotherhead in the Covenant did not hinder the one to kille the other for a mater of smalle moment. I haue made this digression to verifie that which I said, that I had no asseurance of my lyffe so long as I was in Scotland, seing myn own kinred were so desirous to bereave me of it.

When I was come to the North, my whole bussiness was with the Marquis of Huntly to persuad his lordship to consent, at least, to the voyage of his niece, if he would not be the sender of her to France. God knoweth how many voyages I did mak to him and from him, without any determinat answer, wherby I could know his mind, whether he would or would not send her or let her go. For his ordinary answers were theis, I wil consider it, or I shal think upon it; which did galle me to the very hart, and made me ofte tymes say to myself, what would letters haue availed if I had not come my owne selfe, since, notwithstanding al the diligence that I can use, yea, the importunity that I give his lordship, I cannot draw out of his mouth any resolution; and, which did augment my impatience, I could not sie his lordship at every voyage that I made. For he would never sie me but in secret, and that in his garden, when he had no stranger. Yea, he would not suffer any of his servants sie him speak with me, although by them he did send me word when I should come to the garden, as if it were but to walk in it; and by them I did lykwyse learn when he would be in it alone; so, when I did come to Strathboggie, I did send to the castelle for Arthur Duncan, a good Catholic yong man, one of his valets de chambre, or for La Soune, a Frenchman, the other valet, a chirurgien and barbier, and, by the mediation of theis two, I learned when I could sie his lordshipe.

After many voyages to and fro, he consented to let his niece go to France, provyding that he could get permission from the King to do it, but not otherways. For, said he, I know that the counsel wil not give her leave, nather wil I aske it from them; it shal suffice to have it from the King. Therfor, you must go to my sonne James (he meaned my Lord of Aboyne), and I shal wreat by you to him to ask from the King leave for me to send her away out of the contrie, and I shal do it. In the mean tyme, my Lord of Aboyn was com from the King, and was entered in Scotland, which his father did not then know. I told his lordship that the commission was very dangerous for me, but that I would undergoe the

hazard rather than suffer her voyage to be brocken for that ; although I did not dout but that I should be hanged for my paines. For ther be gardes of the rebelles at every passage, who wil not suffer any man to passe unexamined and narrowly searched ; and that the carriage of an letter from his lordship, who was for the King in Scotland, to his sonne with the King in England, would be a sufficient cause to these rebelles to hang me up at the first post that I come to nere the Borders. His lordships answer to me was, that he could not garde me by the way ; and that he nather could, nor would send her away without his Majesties leave.

I, perceiving his lordship so firm in that resolution, accepted the commission, chooising rather to expose my life ons yet, then that the feare of my death should stoppe her voyage, and so loose at once both her ensuing fortune and al my bygone labour. Then I pressed his lordship for to be dismissed with this letter, which, I belive, would never have been wreaten. For he was so much taken up with his newe buildings, from four hours in the morning until eight at night, standing by his masons, urging their diligences, and directing and judging their worke, that he had scarce tyme to eate or sleep, much less to wreat. I waited for it tenne or twelfe dayes in vane. For he was as indifferent of her going or staying, as if nather her personne nor her journay had belonged to him. I never would have thought that an uncle could have bein so cold towards his niece, or a tutour in the affaires of his pupile. Yea, his owne profit, unto which he could not but sie that her voyage must turne, did not mouve him. Which, notwithstanding, did mouve his sonne, my Lord Gordon, who did come from Edenbrough to Strathboggie in the mean tyme that I was in this perplexitye waiting for that letter, wherof I did sie smal or no hope at al. The second night after he came home, I got moyen to sie him in his own chambre after tenne in the night, and ther he and I alone discoursed at lenth about her voyage. He was more sensible therof then his father, and considered better the profit of his house.

He ordeaned me to come the next day to the garden, to speak with him more yet therabout ; and in the mean tyme that we had nere ended our discours of that mater, and of the letter which I was to carry to his brother in England, who, as he tould me, would be in Strathboggie within three days, which proved true, my lord, his father, did come upon us, and beganne to tel his sonne how he had resolved to send me with a letter to his sonne, James, if he had stayed any longer in England ; which he dislyked,

and said to his father, my lord, that had bein to send him to the gallows for wishing the wel of our housse ; a badde recompense for his good wil towards us. I have told him that my brother wil be heir in very few dayes, and then we shal tak a cours with the busines which he proponed concerning the sending of my cousine to the Quene of France. He hath played the part of a faithful frind towards her, which I hope she shal never forget ; and if she doe, I shal not, for I shal give him both enterteanement and protection in my landes so long as he shal live, for his kindnesse towards our housse, if he shal returne to Scotlande after he shal have delivered my cousine to the Quene.

When my Lord of Aboyne did arrive, his brother, my Lord Gordon, did cal me to the gardene, and ther we discoursed a large houre, and both the brethren were bent to have their cousine accept the offer made to her by the King and Quene of France ; and considered, that if she remained in Scotland her condition could not be but badde, haveing nather father nor mother nor brother to tak care of her in thes troublesome tymes. And that nather of them, althoug her nerest kinred, could charge themselves with her, they being unmarried, and made no constant residence in any place ; and that frindes wer bot cold, as she may know by her owne experience. Then I said, my lords, she is most desirous to go to France ; I find no difficulty but only in my lord, your father, who wil not consent to her voyage without the King his licence ; which now cannot be had, since my Lord of Aboyne is not beside his Majesty to obteane it, and for me to carye a letter from his lordship to the King immediatly, forby the danger in the way, which your lordships do know, I would not get accesse to speak to his Majesty in particulier ; and, althought I should get it, I am seur that I would not obteane my sute without better mediators then my owne selfe ; and I feare much that his lordship wil yet presse that upon me. My Lord Gordon said, no, you shal not be put to that danger, wherin you would undoubtedly parish ; I shal do that bussines with my father.

After two or three dayes, my Lord Gordon did cal for me again to the garden, to wate upon him ther. The Marquis did come ther befor him, and did mak an long discours of the hazard that he might runne in sending his niece out of the contrie against the lawes of the contrie, and that ther was no hope of getting permission to do it from ather King or Councel. My Lord Gordon followed him almost at the back, and having heared the difficulties that he had made, solved them al in few wordes, saying, my

Lord, if you wil leave that business to me to do, I shal do it wel aneugh without any inconvenient to us. And this is the way that I shal tak to do it; I shal give to Mr. Blackhial moneyes to mak her charges to Paris, and to cloath her when she shal arrive at Paris; and he shal promis, if they shal be taken in their passage, to say constantly that, by vertue of his engagement to her dying mother, who obliged him by his fidelity to do what he could to conserve her child in the Catholick religion, he had gon to France, and did sollicit the Quene for to mak her one of her maides of honour, which he having obtained, retourned to Scotland, with letters from their Majesties of France to convoy her their to them, and theirupon hath persnaded her to go with him, unsought the consentement of any others. And this confession cannot wrong him any way; for, if he be taken, your lordships consentment wil not sauve his lyffe, and therfor I doubt not but that he hath more piety and courage then to engage your lordship in such an inconvenient, without any profite to himself, against the truth. For he doth begge your lordship leave to take her away with him, and your lordship doth not so much as bidde him do any thing in that nature. Therfor you nede not apprehend any thing whatsoever befall him; for no wyse man could enterpryse such a bussines without resolution to dye for it constantly, since dye he must, if they be intercepted. Upon the consideration of this discours which my Lord Gordon made to him, he gave his consent, providing that I would first sweare that I shal never confesse that I had any way communicated that mater to him, but constantly avouch that, by the order which I had receaved from her mother upon her death bedde, I have persnaded her to go with me to the Quene of France, from whom I had receaved order to come for her.

Now, having gotten his lordships consentment, the next thing that I had to do was to mouve his lordship to send to Edenbrough for his niece to bring her north, because we would not be suffered to embark at Leith, nor any other porte in the south; because her tante, my Ladye Marre, and her cousine germain, my Ladye Haddingtoun, with whom she was actually then living, were much opposed to her going to France only for religion, and had but too much power to stop us, wher we could not have any to advance us. Wherfor I prayed his lordship to send for her under the pretext to clothe her newe, for she had not any other but the murning gowne, which she had caried more then a whole yeare. My Lord Marquis answered, that he would send for his owne daughter, Lady Marie, to be



married with the yong Laird of Drume, and that he would then mak his niece com with her. I asked how soone he would send for his daughter? He said, he could not send for her until such tyme as he and the old Laird of Drume were agreed upon the artickles of the marriage. But, said I, if you do not agree therupon, wil you bring your daughter north? No, said he, what shal I do with her heir, wher ther be no women? for he was a widower, and non of his sonnes were married, and his three daughters who were married lived in the south, to witt, my Lady Dromond, the eldest, with whom Ladye Marie was living, and the Countess of Haddingtoun, with whom his niece Ladye Henriette was living, and my Ladye Seatoun.

I prayed his lordship very instantly to send for his niece, because ther was a good occasion offering itself shortly for her to go to France. He asked which was the occasion? I tould him that ther was a great shippe come out of the south to Aberdeine, to transport the soldiers who were lifted in the north for the recreuts of the Scots regiments in France. He answered, that he would not send his niece among soldiers. I replied, that ther were divers Catholick families to go in that shippe also, as wel as the soldiers, such as the Laird of Belgownie, with his ladye and nymne children, and others, whole families of Catholicks, banished out of the contrie; and that al the captains and others officers who commanded the soldiers were my good frinds, and would be very civil to us; and that we could never find better company to go away with, and happely not so good, at any other tyme; and that if we should stay longer wating upon other occasions, which do but very seldome occur from Aberdeine, the sea might become so troubled with contrarie factions for King and parlement, that we could hardly eschew to runne many risques of being plondred in our passage, if wors did not arrive to us.

His lordship considered my discours, and said that he would send for her; and when I urged to send for her the soonest that he could, he answered that he had no man who he might spare, but only Jhon Gordon, called commonly Jhon of Berwick, and that he would not have his niece to come with one man alone. I offerred myself to goe for her with Jhon Gordon. But he would not suffer me to go, fearing that I should be knowen, and so endanger his lordship, although he did not tel me so much then, but bidde me go to Buchan, and pray Allexander Davidson to go for

her with Jhon Gordon ; for, said he, that man served her grandfather first, and her mother therafter, and wil be most willing, I belive, to do her that peice of service. I thought as much too, but we were deceaved. I made two voyages to Buchan for to persuad him, who had raison indead to have offered himself unrequyred to mak that voyage for her, since both her grandfather, the Earle of Errole, and her mother, had bein beneficial to him. But they were both out of this world, and their good deades out of his memorie, whos thoughts wer al about his marriage with the widow of Artrachye, a woman passed three score and he some more. Both my voyages wer in vane ; for, as the proverbe sayeth, he would nather cal nor drive. So I returned to Strathboggie, very evil satisfyed, and tould my lord that he had flatly refused to go for her. Then, said he, she must stay wher she is, for I wil not send one man alone for her ; when I send for my daughter, Marie, they shal come together. I said, my lord, it may be that we shal not find the opportunity then to passe over the sea. I cannot war-rand that, said he.

The great God of heaven and earth, who knoweth the secrets of all harts, doth only know what greiffe was in my hart, and in what perplexity I was then, seing al my labour lossed in the very port. I knew not to what sant I should vowe myselfe ; yet I resolved to leave nothing untried for to come about my desing. I offered myself over againe to go for her with Jhon Gordon, but he refused me over againe. I asked what was his lordships raison why he would not suffer me to goe ? Becaus, said he, you are knowen every wher, and may be taken in the south, which would turne to my prejudice, being sent by me. Then I, replying, said, my lord, I am indead knowen heir in the north, but no wayes in the south ; for since my first comeing north I have ever remained in this syde of the Month, and never passed over it againe to go forder south, finding mater aneugh for my vocation in the north, and mor then I could overtak ; so that I am not knowen besouth the Grampian Hilles, much lesse in Edinbrough, or in any towne by the way ; and, my lord, I shal go as a stranger to John Gordon whersoever we come, and mak my owne charges myselfe, as if we had only fallen together by mere accident upon the way, and so nobodye wil ever suspect that we belong both to one maister. And, moreover, my lord, although I should be so unhappy as to be taken in this voyage, have not I given your lordship assurance aneugh, that whatsoever shal befall me. I

shal never avouch that ever I had the honor to know your lordship, or to have ever had any communication with you; so your lordship can never suffer prejudice by me, whatsoever come of me.

Then, he said, if you have never crossed the Month, as you say, and I do belive your worde, it is not much to be feared that you shal be knowen; and therfor you may go with my man, but so as strangers and unknowne to one another. I shal send my man, Jhon Gordon, to Aberdeine, from whence he shal be readie to part on Monday next, about tenne hours. You may mak your rendevous to meet together in some place betwixt the towne and the bridge. Which we did, and went together as comerades upon the way, and as strangers in the innes, until we were at Edenbrough, and their also we lodged in divers lanes.

Heir I must render unto Almighty God his due, and show that it was by his divine providence that Allexander Davidson did not go with Jhon Gordon, nor non other bot I myself. For if I had not bein with him, he would have turned back ungonne to Edenbrough, when he was within half a mile of it. And the occasion did falle out thus. Betwixt Leith and Edenbrough, about midway, we did mete William Murray, the King's bedde chamber man. He did tel Jhon Gordon, that the Earle of Aboyne, for having bein with the King in England, was proclaimed rebelle in Edenbrough by the Covenanters, who then ruled al, and as such his armes torne in peices at the market crosse. This news did strick such a panick fear upon Jhon Gordon, because he had bein in England with my Lord of Aboyne, that he would necessarily turne back. I seing him so troubled, asked him what newes he had heared that had put him in so great a hypocondarye? He tould me what Mr. Murray had tould him. What for a great matter is that? Rebelles declaring my Lord of Aboyne rebelle, do testify his fideilty towards the King. They do honour to him, and shame to themselves. He is well in Strathboggie, let them if they darre come and tak him out of it. Nay, said he, but I was together with him. That is nothing, said I. You was with him as a servand and not a volontaire. You wer not alon with him, he had more servants then you; and I wil lay that nather you, nor any of them are so much as named in the proclamation, even in general by the word servants, saying he and his servants, much less in particular, you by your owne privy name. Do they not know that servants must follow their masters? Do not their servants follow them even against the King? If the King were maister of al his rebelles,

would he enqyr of al their servants? No seurly, but only of volontaires, who, without any necessity, did go against him. Necessity of obeying eximeth servants from punishment, except for private murther, burning, violation, and such lyk particular crymes, wherof you are not guilty. Did you draw your sword against your contrie? No, said he. What do you feare then, said I? If I be knowen in Edenbrough, said he, I wil be cast in prison. And so wil I, if I be knowen, said I, and yet I wil not turne back for al that. Thes ar mere conceits, let us go forward. For I wil not for your imaginary feare loose al the panes that I have already taken for this ladye, which shal be absolutly loossed, if we do not get her out of Edenbrough at this tyme; for the shippe wil not stay until my lord send another for her. And, I pray you, tel me how you wil stand before my lord, and say that for such a cause you durst not go forward to Edenbrough being within halfe a mile to it? Or, do you not know that my lord hath great interest in this your voyage? For, if the ladye go to France, his housse wil be discharged of a great burthen, wherof he wil be sensible if it be hindered through your fault, and wil mak you smart for it; and, therfor, do not for an fond apprehension loose the good grace of my lord, and al the familie, and make yourself ridiculous to those who envye your good fortune. Hearing me speak theis things, he said, if you were not heir I would not go forward, but, you presse me so much, I wil go, and pulling out two letteres which he was carrying from my Lord of Aboyne, one to my Ladye Marquise of Douglas, then in Douglas, and the other to my Ladye Drummond, he teare them both in smal pieces, and threw them away with the winde, and we went to Edynbrough.

§ 10. Of our comeing from Edenbrough north to Strathboggie.  
and from thence to Aberdeine, to embark for France.

Jhon Gordon did go to Douglas that day, twentie miles from Edenbrough, and did come back the next day in the evening; for he durst not walk upon the streates in day light, fearing to be knowne. I loged in the housse of Jhon Crawford, wher my freinds, who were Catholicks, did come to me. Entring in the towne, I tould Jhon Gordon wher I intended to loge, and desired to know wher I should find him, that we might be readie both at once to part, and not mak one stay upon another. But he would

not tel me, fearing to be discovered by my comeing to him. Nather did he come to me to tel me what he had done. Yet I got intelligence, by an Catholick woman, what he had done concerning the bringing away of the yong ladye from my Ladye Haddingtounes loging, who, about eight o'clock in the morning, going to the prayers in the great church, did take the yong ladye with her in her carrosse, and set her downe at the Nether Bow, before the gate of her taunte, my Ladye Barnes.

I was advertised that she was come their, and made myself readie to accompany her in her voyage north. When I did come to my Ladye Barnes loging, I fand her with her niece before the gatte, and my ladye was weeping bitterly. I thought it had proccided from the tendernes of her hart, bidding adieu to her niece, who was nothing touched with the teares of her taunte, but I perceived they flowed from grieffe, because she did remark her niece greatly tempted to hinder her owne good by remaining still in the misery in which she was, rather then to go to France. She did not indead say that she would not go, but her tante and I both did perceive that she repented her comeing from my Ladye Haddingtounne, and violently would go back againe, under the pretext to bidde adieu to her litle cousine, the daughter of my Ladye Haddingtounne, a child of two years or therabout; but we knew her mind was to stay ther. We did not know what course to tak with her, for we could not get her tacken away by force out of Edenbrough. For if she had cryed out that we were to tak her to the north to carye her to France, to mak her religieuse against her wil, (as I do belive she thought that we intended to do,) the people would have taken her from us, and taken us likewise prisonniers. I remembered that she had told me, at the first tyme that I did sie her in the Marquis of Douglas his house, that my Ladye Haddingtounne, threatning her, had said some tymes to her in anger, you are become proude, because you think to go to the Quene of France; I shall make you go first to Sterling, and sie your tante, my Ladye Marre ther, who wil keepe you unseeing France ever with your eyes. I made use theirof on this occasion, and said to her, Ladye, choice you one of two things, ather to go to Sterling, to tak your leave at your tante, or to my Ladye Haddingtounes housse, to bidde your cousine fairwel; for the day wil not suffize to do both. She choised to go to Sterling. Then, said I, mak haste, and tak your leave of my Ladye Barnes, your tante, and go to our horses, for the day is much spent. She did tak leave of her weeping tant with drye eyes, and we went to our



horses, attending us at the head of Leith Weyne. Her tante was overjoyed at the invention I made to get her away.

My Ladye Haddingtounne did send a maid with her, named Margarette Carre, who had served in France, an arche Puritane, to go to France with her, under pretext that she had the French tongue, but really to conserve her in the heresie, which she had too lightly embrassed, for (as the servand tould me) she went to the church with my Ladye Drummonde the very first Sunday after she arrived ther; and, to justify herself for doing so, manteaned to my Ladye Drummonde that her mother, my Ladye of Aboyne, had cheanged her religion befor her death, and had Mr. William Douglas, the minister of Aboyne, by her when she dyed; which was a very fals calumny, spooken against her conscience; for she could not but sie me standing at the syde of her mothers bedde, and hear me, with many teares, prononce the wordes of absolution, when the good ladyes breath was going out, as Jannet Williamson, the yong ladyes servande, who had served her mother, and sie her give up the ghost, did mantean against the yong ladye befor my Ladye Drummond, swearing that she did sie Father Blakhal, his hand upon her mothers head, giveing her absolution, when she did render her spirit unto her Creator, and that no minister did come within her chamber at the tyme of her seekness. Indeed, that noble ladye had so great an aversion from heresie, that she would never souffer a minister to see her in seeknes; for, said she, if they get leave but to sie a Catholick in their seeknes, they wil say that he or she (if they dye at that tyme) did reconcile by them, and dye in their religion; and, as for me, I would suffer mor patiently any evil that can be said of a woman, then inconstancie in religion to be said of me.

When we were out of Edenbrough, we did tak the way to the Quenes ferry, to pass over the firth ther, six miles above Leith, where the water is but two miles broade. Margarette Carre did perceive that we did not go the way to Sterling, and tould the yong ladye, which did greeve her much, and would needes go to Sterling, or bak againe to Edenbrough, and did persever long in that resolution. Yet marching stil forward our owne way, Jhon Gordon tould her that my Ladye Marre had carried great hatred against my lord marquis for many yeares bygone, and stil did; and that, if she did go to my Ladye Marre, my lord, her uncle, would never look upon her any more, because he would take it as an affront done to him, and that if he should convoy her, or suffer her to go ther, she being delivered to his

custodie, he durst never com in the presence of my lord, and that her fortune depending wholly of my lord, al her frinds would vilifye her, if she did show herself so unwyse as to affront him for to please my Ladye Marre, from whom she could expect nothing. And, as for Mr. Blakhal, he may not go with you ther, for my Ladye Marre, who is enemy to al men of his coat, would infallibly mak him be hanged for attempting to carie you out of the country to mak you Catholick, and you cannot go without some man to convoy you. Wherfor you must now passe over the water at the Quens-ferry, and go straight to Strathboggie to my lord, who is attending you ther. So he perswaded her to leave her resolution of going to Sterling, and go the nerest way home. This discours did come better from the mouth of Jhon Gordon then from myn, who had promised to give her the contentment of sieing her tante; and, therfor, I rode behind them a whole quarter of a mile, that she should not appele to me.

We had no more difficulty with her al the way, and my lord did receive her at Strathboggie very civillye, and keped with her the two women who came with her from Edenbrough, to wit, Margarette Carre, and Janette Williamsons, a Catholick maid, who had served her mother and herself, and, being out of condition, we did tak her north, wher she was borne upon the charges of the yong ladye, with whom she remained until we embarked, which was the mater of tenne or twelfe dayes after we arrived to Strathboggie. In the mean tyme, betwixt our arrival to Strathboggie and our embarkment, my lord was much importuned with recommendations of divers yong gentlewomen Catholickes, perswading themselves that their fortunes were made for ever, if they could get themselves preferred to serve her in France; and, upon this persuasion, obtained from their frinds recommendations to my lord, praying his lordship to preferre them. When the recommendations were from persons he was loathe to displease, he turned them over upon me, saying that he did not meddle with those things. Mr. Blakhal is come for my niece from the Quene of France, it is his part to provid servandes for her, and to consider who is fitte or not fitte to be presented with her to the Quene; if he be pleased with you, I shal be also. I did defeat myself easely of those who had not the French language, saying, that I could not take two dumme women together to the Quene, wherof nather could speak to her Majesty, or understand her. But, for such as could speak French, I had greater peine, for they thought themselves very capable, and that I wronged them very much in refusing to

accept them ; and that the refusale, which they did esteame an affront, proceeded only from my particular affection to some other who I would preferre to them. There was no possibility of paying these persones with reason. Margaritte Carre, although an arch Puritan, pressed very much, because my Ladye Haddingtounne had assured her of that place, otherwayes she neded not to haue come north out of her owne contrie, and that she would not pack up that wrong, but would complein to my lord that I sleighted his lordships daughter in putting from her cousin whom she had put to her. My lord, who knew her better than I did, who had never seen her befor, made her quyete, and told her that it was not I, but he himself who refused to let her go with his niece, and that he would send Jean Clewe with her, a very good maide, who had served a Catholick ladye banished out of Scotland heir in Paris, whom my lord did know, and the maide also. When they did sie that my lord had choised this Jeane Clewe, they perceiued that my lord had sent them to me only to defeat himself of their importunity, and that it was he, and not I, who provided a seruande for his niece ; and so their aversions ceased which they had conceiued against me.

I said above, in the nyynth paragraphe, that I had no great assurance of my life so long as I was in Scotland, which I veryfied ther, by the chasse that two lairds made after Captain Hebron, taking him for me. Now, I wil show the same by the foolish discours of a yong man, called Maister William Loggye, sonne to Maister Jhon, or to Maister Androw Loggye, I know not which of theis two brethren was his father. They both were ministers, and he was hunting after a church also. And, to make himself the more recommendable to the brethren, as a man who had given a cleere prooffe of his zele in the slaughter of a prieste, declared ennemye to their religion, he confidently divulged through Aberdein, and the contrie therabout, that he had delivered the contrie of an importune ennemie, who was lurking among the midst of us, when we thought him in France : but I shal be warand for him that he shal trouble us no more, said he, for I have left him lying at Warthle, with mor then twenty deadly wonds in his bodye. And asked who it was that he had wonded so sore ? Father Blakhal, said he, who ride up and down the countrie as boldly as if he were the Kings legal subject ; but I shal answer for him that he shal ride no more, or else blame me, if he doe.

The foole spokk theis wordes so confidently that in Aberdein and therabout it was constantly believed for some tyme both by Catholics and here-

ficks, until I returned again from Edinborough, wher I was gone with Jhon Gordon to bring the young ladye north, and was ther actually when the foole did vaunte himself to have killed me. When the ladye and we crossed the water of Dye, at Kincarneoniel, wher she loged the night immediately befor she arrived to Strathboggie, Mr. William Douglas, minister of the church of Aboyne, did come to salut her, and finding Jhon Thomson with her, who was serving her mother at the tyme of her decease, said, I will tel you good newes, Jhon, but I know not if you will cal them good. Which be they, said Jhon Thomson? The contrie is ridde of Father Blakhal. I know, Sir, said Jhon, he is wel in France. Nay, said the minister, fey men have no feete, Jhon, his soales itched in France, and gave him no rest til he turned bak againe seeking his turffe, which Mr. William Loggye hath given to him at Warthle, upon Done syde. He is wel away, and we as wel quytte of him. He cared for no mans feede, but he hath ons found his maister. Indead, they say that he was so drunck, that he could not sitte upon his hors, let. be to handle his weapons, although he was both wel horsed, and wel armed, and might have gon his way, for Loggye was on foote, but his houre was come. I wish al the rest of the brethren wer that same way. Jhon Thomson knew the contrary, for we had crossed the water together half of an hour befor, but fained himself to be very sorry for theis newes. The next day he convoyed the ladye a peice on her way, and tould me this discours which the minister had tould him. And the second day after we arrived at Strathboggie, Captain Foullartoune arrived also with some eight soldiers, which he had gotten in the contrie therabout, idle men taken by force to be sent to the warres to disburthen the contrie of them. How soon he did sie Robert Rhinne his wife, wher I loged when I came their, he called her by her name. Bessie, said he, when did you sie my lieutenant, by whom he meant me? She said yesterday, he went from this to Carneborrow, and wil be heir again within lesse then an houre. Bessye, said he, I know you love him, and so do I, and therfor if you had not sein him so latly, I would not have tould you what I heard in Aberdein. God bless him, said she, what could you hear of him but good. It was tould me in Aberdein, that he was killed eight dayes since upon Done side, by one called Loggye, and al the Catholicks in Aberdein do yet believe it to be true. Wel, said she, you shal sie him very soon ful of lyffe. Within a quarter of an houre I arrived; and Captain Foullartoune, overjoyed to sie me after the badde newes which he had heard of me, tould me the dis-

cours that Loggye had published of my death, the real testimony of his zeal. But after that it came to be known that I was in Edenbrough at that time in which he said he had killed me, he durst not show his face for shame that he had vaunted himself to have killed a man whom he had never seene, and to have done it when they were fourscore miles distant. It was reported, that his owne father reproaching him, said, Mr. William, you said the priest was drunk when you killed him, but assuredly you have been drunk when you dreamed that you killed him. I pray you, Mr. Williame, kille no more preistes on that score, that they rise againe to your shame, or which is yet better, drink no more, and you will not kill more preistes in your sleep.

When the Marquis of Huntly was informed that the shippe was readie to parte, expecting only the winde, he sent his niece to Aberdein with four horsmen and two wemen to accompany her. He had delivered to me, before she parted from his house, an thousand pounds Scots, equivalent to a thousand French livres, and added therunto an compte of five hundreth marks Scots, for her pension in the hotelle of Mr. Robert Coutts, befor she went south to my Ladye Drummond, and for the expenses of her voyages going south and coming north again; which compte of five hundreth marks, with the foresaid thousand pounds, made up a soome of two thousand marks Scots; for the which soome he made her subserbye a discharge of two thousand marks of her tochar, so that ther were but tenne thousand marks resting behind, to wit, sex thousand sex hundreth sextie-sex pounds Scots, thretteine pence four deniers. I did not expect from his lordship this rigorous compte, but he would have her to subserbye it, or nothing to be done. Indeed, ther was no injustice, but rigorous justice, in his proceeding, and I was overjoyed to get her away, even upon harder conditions, if they had bein proposed with justice, although never so rigorous.

When we arrived at Aberdeine, she loged in the house of Norman Arbuthnet, a zelous Covenanter, and I loged wher I could, never two nights in the same house, but cheanged every night, and ever in Protestants houses, wher I thought they would not search for me. The magistrats of Aberdein durst not hender her voyage directly, for fear of the Marquis, but they thought wel to hender it indirectly, by taking me prisonnier, knowing that she could not go to France without me, for they made their archers, they call them officiers, go up and downe the towne in bandes, sex at least together, with their halbards upon their shoulders. They used not



befor to go above two together, except when they went to any execution. I was advertised therof by a gentlewoman, who said to me, I pray you, Sir, go not upon the streats in daylight but the least that you can, for I sie the townes officers go very thicke together, farre above their custom. Surely they wate to catch some man; tak head that you be not the man they wate for. I thanked the gentlewoman, and made my best use of her counsel. Every one suspected that I was he whom they were seiking, and tould the Laird of Petfodels and Donald Farquharson to advertise me to be aware of them. Donald prayed me to go to his logging, and he would defend me: Sir Gilbert Menies of Petfodels did the same, and said he would make bloody breaches before they could kepe me prisonnier; for, said he, the Marquis hath many good frinds heir, who wil not suffer him be affronted in holding you in prisonne to frustrat his designe in sending his niece to the Queene of France, wherby his house may be disburthened of her; but I am apte to belive that they have order from the magistrats to kille you rather than tak you, for they know we wil not suffer them to kepe you; but if they kille you, ther wil be an end of al, for ther wil be no mendes given, but, on the contrary, their action heighly commended, you being what you are. I answered that I was much obliged to his worship for his kynd offer, and, in token of my thankfulnes, would remain ever his obliged servant, but would not engage him, nor no other man, in trouble for to defend me, but would do my best to hold myself out of ther way for the short tyme that I was to stay in Aberdeine.

But the malice of theis Puritanical magistrats and ministers of Aberdeine ended not heir yet, for they sent to the Councel for a warrand to arrest the shippe in which we wer to go. The Councel, sitting in Edenbrough, were called then the Lords of the Green Table, because the table about which they did sitte was covered with a green cloth or tapis. They were not, indead, the Lords of his Majesties Privye Councel, but some fyve or sex Covenanting lords, arch Puritans, who having acquired the favour of the ministers, who governed the people, usurped to themselves the whole authority of the Kings Privye Councel, and ruled without opposition the whole country. These Lords of the Green Table did not only send their order to Aberdein to arrest the shippe until such tyme as the yong ladye, with the preist who was to convoy her to France, should be sent under sure guard to Edenbrough, but also, by virtue of their brotherhead with the Inglish parliament, which had then four weare shippes blocking up the

towne of Scarsbrough, obtained that theis men of weare should arrest our shippe in passing by the Scares, and tak the ladye and the priest out of her, and send them bak againe to Edenbrough, which I wil show very soon heirafter in its owne place.

§ 11. Of our Voyage by sea from Aberdein to Dieppe, and how we escaped the Parliament shippes befor Scaresbrough.

Upon Sundeay, the twenty-fifth July, 1643, betwixt nynne and tenne at night, the ladye parted from her logging to go to the water mouth to passe from thence in a boat to the shippe in the road, accompanied with the Lairds of Petfodels, Abergueldie, Schives, Donald Farquharson of Monaltrie, and divers bourges of the towne, and among the rest fyfteine or sixteine sergeants, or towne officers, with their halbards. She and her company wer out at the town gate, before I did know that she was parted from her logging. Its true that I knew that we were to part that evening; had counted with her hoste, and payed him, and had also satisfyed the two women who had convoyed her from Edenbrough to Aberdeine al the way. She looking about, happily for me, did perceiue these sergiants, and did wittily suspect what their earand was, for which they followed her, did send her woman, Jean Clewe, who was to go with her to France, bak againe to me, to forbidde me to follow her the way by which she was gone, because of theis sergiants, but to come after her some other way, and that in haist, because she would not embark without me. Jeane Clewe did find me yet in my logging with Robert Farquerson, brother to Donald, aboue mentioned, readie to parte. She tould me her commission, and went spidily away to overtake her mistres. Robert Farquerson and I, and some others, my frinds, did go to the key, and their hyre a boat to carie us downe the water to the side of the sea, and their tak in the ladye with her companye, and carie us al to the shippe.

The serjiants, not finding me in the company, returned back againe to the towne, after they had followed her half of an English mile, thinking perchance to mete me in their way, for they could not but persuad themselves that I would follow her, since I was not actually with her. Befor our boat was at the mouth of the water, close by the sea, it became so darke that one could not know another fyve paces from them; and when our boate arrived to the land to receive the ladye, and those who were to go

abourd with her, because she could not know me for the darkness of the night, she caused Jeane Clewe, her maid, ask in French, if Mr. Blakhal was in the boat, for I wil not enter in it, said she, if he be not heir. I answered in French, and she entred with her company, and we went to the shippe in the road, and passed that night very jovially; and I, overjoyed to have her that much advanced in her voyage, did sing with a loud voice many songs, amongst others, Ulysses and the Siren. She said to me, you are very jovial this night; what maketh you sing so much? I answered, ladye, I have never sung, but have oft tymes weeped, since the decease of your noble mother, until this night, and now I sing for joy because I have you heir. Donald Farquerson approved my raison, and so did many others.

We did not know yet that the magistrats of Aberdeine had sent to the Lords of the Green Table for an order from them to arrest our shippe. But some yeares theirafter, James Conne at Knokiemilne, being banished out of Scotland for the Catholick religion, did come to Paris, and ther he did telle me that the order did come to late, to wit, upon Tuysday about tenne houres in the fornoone. But, the wind being favourable, we heissed sailes, and went away upon the Monday at the brack of day, otherwayes, said he, you would have bein hanged long er now, not for your religion, but for the rapte of your ladye, whom you did tak away out of the contrie without their leave asked and given. Wel, said I, let them hang me, when they get me in their hands. They wil do that indeed, said he, for your processe is made with al the formalities; therfor kepe yourself out of their hands. For, when I was taken prisonnier, and sent befor theis lords, they examined me whither or not I had heard messe in the realme. I avoched that I had, and being asked wher? I said in the brunt church of Strathboggie. And interroged, who said the messe? I answered, who, but Father Blakhal, for we had no other priest in the north these many yeares but he, and we have non now, since he is in France. We know, said one of them, that he is in France, and, if ever he come to Scotland, we shal lykwayes mak him know what they deserve who steale ladyes out of the contrie. I avoched (said James Conne to me) that it was you who said the messe, because you being alreadie condemned, it would not prejudice you; and, I belive, you had rather dye for saying messes, then for stealing ladyes, as they called it; next, because I knew that you were out of their reache. I approved al that he said.

Theis Lords of the Green Table haveing sent their order to Aberdeine to arrest the shippe until they had taken the ladye and me, and sent us to Edenbrough, cunningly suspecting that the shippe and we might be gone befor their order could arrive to Aberdein, did wreat to the vice admiral, who lay before Scaresborough, with four men of weare, blocking it up by sea, so as nothing could go in or come out, to tak our shippe in the passing by, and to tak out the lady and the priest, and send them prisonniers to Edenbrough. We knew nothing heirof, nor did so much as feare or apprehend any such thing, until we arrived at Dieppe, as I shal show when I come to speak of our landing there.

We, as I have said heir above, beganne our voyage upon Monday the 26th of July, 1643, at the point of day, and, having a raisonable wind, passed by Scaresbrough upon Wednesday the 28th, about eight houres in the morning. And, when we were yet a great way from Scaresbrough, we did sie four great shippes lying, or rather ridding, for al their sailles were up, befor the towne. Our officers were afrayed, thinking they might be Dunekirkers, who would not have failed to taken us prisonniers to Dunkirk, and so was our skipper, fearing the loosse of his shippe; but, when we approached a litle nearer, the skipper, looking them through his prospect, discovered them to be parlament shippes, and said, gentlemen, be not troubled, theis are parlament shippes, our good frindes. The devil be thy frind, thought I within myself, and I had better raison nor I then did know of, for both he and they were my foes. When feare departed from our captaines, curiosity did fill his rounge. For every one of them would nedes look and look over and over againe to those goodly shippes, which, in comparison to our shippe (which was no smal veschel), were like castles upon the sea beside a litle blockhouse. Before we came at them by five or six miles, we did sie a fleeboat come out of the towne, and drive away swiftly, with the wind right in her puppe, and al theis four shippes loused after her, shutting many cannonads after her, which hindered their sailing, and she, having the wind upon them, did winne sea upon them, and, until they al went out of our sight, we remarked her the longer they shutte after her, the forder befor them. In the mean tyme of this chasse, we passed peaceably by Scaresbrough, and made no halt until we came to the Downes, wher were many fair veschelles. At the Downes we stayed at least four dayes, partly to get a man of weare to guard us from that to Dieppe from the Dunkerkers, and partly because the wind turned contrary to us.

Having gotten our convoyer, and the wind turning faire, we arrived at Dieppe the 5th day of August, 1643, about nyne houres before noone.

Al the tyme of our voyage, I passed for lieutenant to Captain Foulartoune, and was named John Hay. But specially in our ship, which made some misknow me, who had seene me before, as they avouched to me in Dieppe, when they heard me called by my owne name, by some Scotsmen who were in Dieppe. But our skipper was hudgety not only scandalised, but also grieved that he had been so abused, as to bring over sea a priest in his shippe, under the name of a lieutenant, wherof he gave me a sufficient expression, when I payed him for our passage, saying to me, if I had knowen you to have been such a lieutenant as you are, I would not have received you in my shippe, although you would have given me al your valient for the doing it. I jested and said, good skipper, you had both myself and my whole valient in your shippe al at ones. I offered him the wyne, but he would not accept of it. He expressed his indignation this much to myself, but more to others, to whom he said that he would have given tenne pounds sterling to any man who would have told him what kind of lieutenant I was, when we were in the Downes. For said he, I would have delivered him in the hands of the vice-admiral in the Downes. But now ther is no remede but patience; for such an affront was never put upon me. Lieutenant Hay upon the sea, and Father Blakhal upon the land is but al one thing. If I had bein tould that ther was a preist in my shippe, I would never have suspected him, he was so merye and jovial, ever singing, or making sport to the company, but the devil is in their cunningnesse. This his mind towards me did show that I had mor raison than I was awarre of to bidde the devil be his friend, when he called the parlement men of warre before Scaresbrough his good friends; now restes to show what raison I had, although unknowen then to me, to wish to them as much as to him.

I said heir a litle above that our Lords of the Greene Table had wreaten to the four men of warre who were blocking up Scaresbrough, to tak our ship in our passage by them, and to take out of her the yong ladye and the priest, and send them back to them in Edinbrough, wherof we knew nothing until we arrived at Dieppe. Theis men of warre were indeed very obligeant to their deare brethren, the Scots Covenanters; for they omitted no occasion willingly wherby they might gratifye theis Greene Lords. And to testifye their careful diligence, they did tak a shippe going from Leith to



Dieppe with soldiers, and tould that they were earnestly intreated by the Lords of the Greene Table to wait upon a shippe comeing from Aberdeine with soldiers, in which is a young ladye and a priest, who should convoy her to the Quene of France; but we shal mak them sie the Toure of London before they sie the Louvre, said they. The skipper tould them that his shippe was from Leith, and not from Aberdeiee, and that their was no woman yong nor old in his shippe. Notwithstanding they did search his ship most narrowly, and finding non, asked if ther wer any papists in the shippe. The skipper said he knew non. But a rascal who did know Captain Monteith, sonne to the laird of Carse Monteith, discovered him, saying, their be non heir but only Captain Monteith. Wherupon they did tak him out, and keepled him prisonnier in one of their shippes four and twenty houres, and made him pay tenne pounds sterling for his ransom, ere they would let him go to his own shippe and his soldiers.

When we did mete in Dieppe the same day that we landed, he tould me what had befallen him, and said, jesting, that I was debtful to him of tenne poundes sterling. I asked him upon what account was I owing him so much. Becaus, said he, I payed it for you; and if you had not brought your ladye away without licence from the lords, we had not bein troubled, neither had I payed anything to theis pyrats. Nay, said I, you have an much better debtour. You payed that some for God, becaus you are a Catholick, not for me, who am but only the occasionarie cause of your trouble, but not of your paying. I brought her away for God his sake, and you lossed your money for his sake. He is able to pay you, and reward me, and wil do it, when his tyme cometh. In the interime, let us be merry, and hope wel, and we shal some day have wel. Let it even be so, said he, for I asked payment from you, but in jesting. Then I tould him how we had escaped their handes by the going out of a fleabotte out of Scarsbrough, which al the four men of warre did follow, and left to us a rounge sea to passe, so as that we would never have suspected that they had receaved any such order against us, if you had not tould it to me now, which I am very glaide to know, to the end that as Almighty God doth multiply his benefeits upon me, delivering me in a maner miraculously out of their handes, I may likewise multiplie my thanksgiveings. You have great raison to do so, said he, for if you had fallen in the handes of the Lords of the Greene Table, they would have put you to an cruel kynd of death, making you an example, to affright al other priests from enterprysing the lyk. I did forsie the dangers.

said I, that could arrive unto me in this bussines, and did resolve to undergo them, yea, to suffer the cruelest death that could be invented for me, rather than suffer this poor ladye endure the manyfold miseries, which I did forsie would necessarily fal upon her, if I did not tak her out of our contrie from them. Now, glorie be to God she is heir, and if she were not. I would yet beginne my voyage over againe. I am so far from being affrighted, that nothing but actual death, which putteth an end to al our doings, can hender me to serve those who I preserve to my owne selfe.

I have often reflected on this last, and, as our Greene Lords thought, the seurest impeschment of our voyage to France; for they assured themselves that if we escaped out of Aberdeine befor their order did arrive their, we could not escape the parliaments men of warre, who were advertised before we parted from Aberdein, or as soone at the least, as evidently appeareth by their taking Captain Monteith two days befor we arrived that lenth, to wit, upon Monday afternoone, the very same day that we parted from Aberdeine. Their pollicye appeared very sure unto themselves; but al the plottes which human witte can lay to entangle those who God wil deliver, are but like unto the webbes of spiders, which are easily torn (when she hath spent her bowels in making them to catch a flee) by the least blast of wind, befor the poor flye come at it. Even so our Puritanical Lords and Comons did lay snares more than anough to catch a yong lady running to her good fortune, and to draw her violently back from it, and to punish the pouer preist for his charity in procuring it for her, as if he had committed some haynous crime against the state. But when we, being ignorant of al theis doings, were running ourselves in the nettes set befor us, God, above al human providence, delivered us, sending a shippe from Searesbrough, just as it was requyred, for our delivery; for if she had come out but half an hour later, she had been too late out for us, who would have bein made prisonniers before her coming out; or if she had come out one hour sooner, she might, indead, have bein the cause of our delivery, drawing after her theis men of warre until we had passed saife away, but if we had not seime it we should not have had so evident an mark of Gods providence towards us; neither should we ever perchance have known this benefeit received from God if the shippe, in which was Captain Monteith, had not bein taken for ours, and so narrowly searched for us. But this is not yet al the demonstration of Gods protection over us.

For the same shippe might have come out juste as she did, and we, never-

thelesse, might have bein taken if bot one or two of theis men of warre had followed her, and the others remained at their post. But God did suffer them to be so overswayed with their passion, that they would al four runne after one pouer fleeboat, not able to defend herself against one of them if she came to be overtaken; wherfor humain policy, methink, should have obliged two of them at least to have stayed befor the town, which might have sent out many more, whilst they were out of sight at the chasse of one. But to conclud, they did show that al human wisdom, prudence, and polieye, employed against God are but mere follyes, and have no strenth to entangle who he wil deliver, or deliver who he justly wil entangle; for al his wayes are juste, and who is able to oppose him? So, from the out-coming of this fleeboat from the towne in so due tyme, and from the violent passion of the four men of warre, raising their blockous without any necessity to follow her al at ons, I collect an most evident mark of God his singular protection over us, and that our voyage was agreeable to his divine bounty, whos holy name be blessed and honoured for ever. Amen.

¶ 12. Of our Voyage from Dieppe to Paris, and how the Quene disposed of the Ladye, after that my Lord of Aubeny and I had presented her to her Majestie.

We stayed in Dieppe three days, the ladye and her servande in the Nonnerie of the Hospitaliers, wher the Superieure, Madame Magdalene Duval, called in religion the Mother of the Resurrection, did treat her very honorably, and gratis, at the request of Father Dumcan, Confesseur to the Dames Carmelites. I did offer to pay for her enterteainment, but the Superieure would not receive any thing. This is not al the obligation that I have to that generous ladye, and to that reverend Father; for when I was in Dieppe, going home for this ladye, the good Father, my most ancient and ever constant frind, finding me loged in a very deare inne, wher I payed for every whitein ten solz, which I report to the end that the reader may guesse what I did pay for better cheare, knowing, as we say, the lyon by the claw; the Father, I say, did tak me out of that inne, and loged me in his owne chamber and in his owne bedde, and the religious ladye, unseine me, for the consideration of the Father, did send from her hospital our denner most frequently, and very good cheare, with better wyne then we

could gette from tavernes. I, overcome with this her bountye, knew no otherwayes how to revenge myselfe then by humble thanks, acknowledging myself her bound servant and perpetual debtor, both to her and to Father Duncan, for whose sake she did use me so kindly.

The nyynth day of August we parted from Dieppe in a carosse of relay, going for Rouen, for which we payed two pistoles or twenty francks. We were sex in company in it, to wit, the ladye and her servand, the Laird of Shives, and two yong gentlemen, somes to Blaktowne Forbes, and me. We keepled together from Dieppe to Paris, she, her woman, and I upon her accompte, and the other three, each one for himselfe, payed, *pro rata*, the half of al the depense among them, and we the other halfe. We arrived at Rouen that same day, where we stayed but two dayes. The twelf day we parted from Rouen in a carosse, which we hyred only for us sex for fourscore francks, with obligation to go wher we pleased by the way, and to be three dayes betwixt Rouen and Paris. For the greater commodity of the yong ladye, the first night we loged at Boisdennemetz, ten lagues from Rouen, wher I was preceptor to the signeur, a yong gentleman of thretein yeares. We were al sex royally enterteained ther that night, and the ladye was overjoyed that I had brought the ladye with me out of Scotland; for she judged that her being in France would oblige me to stay in it, and, consequently, with her sonne, which she thought I would not doe if she had not come with me. But, for the great care that I had of her, she perswaded herselfe that I would not go out of France so long as the ladye stayed into it, and she wished that the Quene would be so bountiful unto the yong ladye that we both might remain long time in it. I thanked her for her kind wishes, and, taking my leave of her, promised to returne to her sonne how soon the yong ladye was taken of of my hand, which I did perform. The second night we lay at Ponthoise, and the third at Paris; the eve of the Assumption of Our Blessed Ladye, 1643.

The next day after the Assumption, I did go and tel the Quene that I had brought the yong ladye from Scotland to her Majestie, who bid me bring her to the courte when I pleased, and she would receave her. I answered, that she was not as yet clothed in the court fashion, and that I would bring her how soone she were apperelled. She bidde me put her in murning, because the courte was al so, for the deceasse of the King, her Majesties husband, who departed from this lyffe the fourteenth of May preceeding. I did as her Majesty commanded me. In the mean tyme that

her clothes were in making and her servandes, I did cloth myself at myn owne charges, and Dr. Davidson did advertise my Lord of Aubeny that his cousine was come to Paris, who did come and visit her very civilly. That was the first time that I had the honor to sie his lordshipe, and ever after that I was much obliged to his kyndnes. After he had saluted his cousine, turning himself to me, who was standing a litle from them, until he made his compliment to her, he said, I wish we had many such preists as you who have taken so much paines for this ladye. I answered, that I could not do lesse, being so much obliged to the bountie of her noble mother of happy memorye. Few, said he, wil be so thankful for obligations passed. We, who are her nerest frinds, must acknowledge ourselves obliged to you, and I hope she wil remember it. Indead he and his two sisters, my Lady Arundele, then bot Montraverse, and my Ladye Portlande, offered very civilly to come when she were readie and present her to the Quene. When her clothes were made, and had gotten linnings *a la mode*, I returned againe and tould the Quene that she attended only her Majesties orders to wait upon her Majesty. So she bidde me bring her upon Sunday afternoon; and I went and told my Lord of Aubeny, and he kepted the houre, and did tak us in his carrosse to the Pallaye Royale, and presented her to the Quene, sitting in the cercle, with many princes and princesses, and great persones of both sexes, about her Majesty. The Quene asked me their, if I found great difficulty to get her away. I answered, that I had indead, but did not telle befor that company, but only said, that, by the assistance of God, I had overcome them al, and that her Majesties letter which she did wreat for her, had done me great good, without which letter I would never have gotten her away. (As indead the Marquis of Huntlye said to me, when the newes were come to Scotland that the King of France was deceased, and the Quene declared Regente, that he would not have sent his niece upon the letter of a dead prince, nather would he have letten her go, if the Quene had not been made Regent.) But that her uncle and tutor, the Marquis of Huntly, caried so much respect to her Majesties letter, that he, how soone he had sein it, consented to her voyage, although he might not avouch the doing of it, haveing no licence from the Privye Council to send her. The Quene was wel pleased to hear, in publick, that her letter was so much respected in Scotland.

After this breefe discours, the Quene bidde us aske the ladye in Scots



what she desired her Majestic to do for her ; and she answered, very judiciously for her age, saying, I am come heir to receive her Majesties commandments, and to obey them. We reported this her answer to the Quene, who said, that it was wysely spoken, but nevertheless that she would have her tell freely her mind, and show what she desired, and she would give her contentment. She answered againe, that she had no other desire but only to obey her Majesty, howsoever it shall please her to dispose of her person. Her Majesty was very wel satisfied with these answers, and asked if any of us had instructed her to answer so ? And we both denying to have spock to her of that subject, she bidde us ask her yet whether or not she would come now to the courte, or go to a monastery until she have learned Frenche ? She answered, that she would be directed therein, as wel as in al other things, by her Majestic. The Quene said, wel, since she wil be governed by me, I think it best that she go to a monastery for some tyme, until she can speak French ; for, if I take her now to the court, the maides (of honour to wit) wil gyre her for the want of language, and she appears to be one who wil not suffer it patiently. In a monastery she will learn piety as wel as language, and piety will be very necessary to her at the courte, wher she will learne non at al. Ask once again if she wil be content to go to a monastery for some time until she learne both language and piety ? We did so ; and her answer was that she would be content to go to a monastery for some tyme, but that she would not be religieuse. The Quene and al they who were in the cercle did laugh heartily when we tould her answer to the Quene. Her Majesty said, I love her the better that she telle her mynd freely, and if she had said that she would be religieuse, I would not believe her. For how can she have a mynd to be religieuse who hath never yet seyn any religieuses.

Then the Quene asked at some ladyes in the cercle wher they judged fitting to put her ? Their answer was, that she would be wel among the Ursalines, but her Majesty was not of their mynd, and said that she would learn to become childish through the frequentation of their litle children, who were pensionaires in the Ursalines, and that therfor she would put her with the Filles St. Marie, in the Rue of St. Anthoin, wher the reverend mother, Louis Eugenie, would haue a special care of her, and wher she might learn both piety and gravity, conversing with none but devote and grave religieuse ladyes ; and her Majesty concluded their that she would go the next Tuysday herself to the Filles St. Marie, nere the Bastile, and aggree with

the reverend mother, Louis Eugenie, superieure of that house, for her pension with a servande. Its true, theis religieuse ladyes are not willing to receive in their houses servandes to waite upon pensionnaires, but the Quene would not suffer her to be without a servande, both for her condition, and for her consolation, who understud and spoek her own language. For which her Majesty did give to thes ladyes an thousand francks be year, which pension was continowed to the yong ladye from that day until she was made Dame d'attour to Madame.

The Quene kept her promise, and not only aggreed with the mother superieure for her pension, but also reecomended her to them so hartily, and spoeked so honourably of the lyffes and deaths of her noble parents, to wit, her father and her mother, what persecutions they had suffered for the true Catholick faith, that theis religieuse ladyes were longing for to sie her, as a living relict of two glorious martyres, as her Majesty called her. For when I did go upon the morrow after that the Quene had been at the monasterie, to sie what her Majesty had concluded their for the yong ladye, the reverend mother and some others did come to me, and tould me that they were al wel content of the pension which her Majesty had offered them, and prayed me to bring her to them the soonest that I could, and if I could not bring her in that week, which was halfe spent, it being Wednesday, for good and al, to bring her at the least for a visit, so as they might sie her. For, said the reverend mother, the Quene hath spooken so much good of her parents, and of herselfe, that we are longing for a sight of her, therfor we pray you give us that satisfaction. I promised to convoy her to them upon the morrow for a visit, and to bring her the week following for to remain with them; which I performed.

I remained in Paris about tenne or twelf dayes after that she entred in their [house], to comfort her until she had contracted some habitude with theis verteous ladyes, and then I returned to my condition in Boisdennemetz, which I had in a maner abandoned for the space of nynne months. My scoller and the ladye, his mother, received me very civilly, although I had preferred the welfaire of this yong ladye unto their profite. But the noble ladye was so judicious, and so pious, that she resented not the wrong that my absence had done to her sonne, but on the contrair, approuved myn action, and cryed uppe my charity, as a thing without a seconde to be sein or heard tel of in theis dayes, which procured for me mor honor then I am or can be worthie of among the gentrie round about us, wherof I found divers effects, so long as I remained in that contrie.

I had no charge nor burthen of the yong ladye for the space of two yeares, and would God that I had never taken it up againe. The raison of this my sadde wish shall be shoven heirafter. For Madame de la Flotte, that noble and verteous ladye, who, as I haue shoven above, reported my petition to her Majesty, in the very begining of my sute for her, did tak the charge of her so long as she was among the Filles de St. Marie, which was bot one yeare. For how soone she could understand and speak French, which she learned very diligently, to be out of the monasterie and placed at the courte, she would not stay ther longer, but absolutely would be at courte, and became so refractory to her directrix, Helene Marie Grison, a very milde and verteous religieuse ladye, who related this to me with much regreat, that the reverend mother superieure was constrained to pray the Quene to tak her away from them to the court.

At that time the Countesse of Brienne, a very discreet and devote ladye, who keepest her Majesties privye purse, distributing her Majesties charities, was maistresse of the courte novices; that is to say, the Quene befor she received to the courte any, postulating to be a maide of honor, did send them to live with the Countesse of Brienne for some tym, wherein she might discerne if they were fitte for the courte or not. For her Majesty had so much goodnes that she would not affront any ladye, thrusting them away againe from courte, finding them unfitte for it, but made the Countesse de Brienne try them before she would receave them; and, upon this consideration, she did send this yong ladye to the Countess for sex months or therabout. Both the Count and the Countess, for the Queens sake, were very civile unto her; but the more they honored her, the less did she respect them. Whether that proceedid from pryde, thinking that and much more due unto her, or from inadvertens, not reflecting upon their civilityes, which is called a kind of brutality, I know not, God knoweth. But what I have sein with my eyes, and heared with myn eares, that I wreat heir, and nothing more. For I haue sein my Ladye of Brienne sitte in her owne carosse without her gate upon the streat, fretting a whole quarter of an houre, waiting for Mademoiselle de Gordon, sending and sending over and over again for her to go to the messe. And, which did highly displease me, when she was at the carrosse, steppe in it not opening her mouth to make any excuse for making the ladye stay for her, no more then if she had bein mistress of the carosse, and the ladye but only her servande. This I have with much greiffe sein mor then two or thrie times; and that

ladye did complean to me of her as oft as I did go to sie her, which I did the mor seldom for that cause, and at last tould me that if some other course were not taken, she would tak her to my Lord of Aubenie his gatte, and sette her downe thereat, because he was her nearest parent; and I must doe it, for the Quene wil not tak her, nather wil I keep her, and she wil not go any more to a monastery.

Yet the Quene and my Ladye of Brienne, betwixt themselves, fand out a way to mak her go willingly to a monastery againe, and it was thus: My Lady of Brienne haveing studied her inclinations, and found her to be unfitte for the Courte, which requireth great civility and complaisance, the Quene would not abandon her, hoping that a ryper aage would change her much, and therfor made her belive that she would procure for her a canonicat in Remiremont in Lorrain. Theis chanonesses are ladyes of good quality, living without vowes, and may enjoye the benefice ever til they find a good match, and then quytting it, marye, and so long as they enjoy it sing the canonical houres. The Quene did know wel aneugh that theis benefices were al rowined by the warres of Lorraine, and that the ladyes were al dispersed among their parents; yet, to mak the yong ladye the more desirous of it, she did send to Madame de Remiremont, who was then living in the Hostel de Luxembourg, with her niece, Madame d'Orleans, to ask in her name one of theis benefices for Mademoiselle de Gordon, which were then easie to be obtained, because non did brigue them; the benefice being granted upon condition that the Quene should enterteane her, because the Lady Abbesse had nothing to give her, nay, nor to enterteane her owne selfe, but was constrained to live with her niece; as the Lady Abbesse, a good old princesse, tante to the Duck of Lorrain and Madame upon their father side, tould me shortly thereafter, at my coming from Paris to Normandie to visit the yong ladye. The benefice being procured, it was necessary that the ladye should learn to sing the canonical houres, which she could not learn so commodiously otherwher as in a monastery of regulare chanoinesses. Wherupon Madame de Brienne, in the name of the Quene, did carie her to Charon, an abbay of chanonesses regulieres Lorrains for the most part, where she lived one year, with no litle mortification. For, as the Frenche proverbe sayeth, *a meschant, meschant et demy*; if she was proude and wilful, the Mother Magdalene, superieure of that monastery, was yet more then she, and kepted her very low; for Madame de Brienne discharged herself of the

yong ladye, and charged the mother Magdalen, superieur of Charon, with her, and her pension of a thousand livres so long as she should stay in her monastery. And Monsieur L'Abbe du Sauroy, a very devout prelat of the order of St. Bennet, was then their superieur, and did receave her pension quarterly from the commis of Messire Estien Janin, Seigneur de Bertiliac, the Quenes tresaurier, then living in the Petit Bourbon, and delivered it to the Mother Magdalene. She stayed only one year there, and thought very long for the traitment that she fand ther.

I used to come from Normandie four tymes in the year ordinarily to sie her, and extraordinarily as oft as I heard she was unwell. I was advertised in the first week of Lent, by Alexander Leith, then a scoller in the Scots Colleg, (whom I had prayed to visit her as oft as he could in my absence, and advertise me of the state of her health). He advertised me that she had a great defluxion falling upon her lungs, which made me in great haste to sie her. When I came to Charon, and called for her, the portier or tourier within bidde me return after Easter, because I could not sie her in Lent, their mother superieur having made a law that her pensionnaires should not come to the parloir in Lent. I answered that ladye, saying, I am come twenty leagues to sie her, being advertised that she is seekly, and wil tak it very il to go back unsein her, and so much the more, because her disease may be past remedy before Easter, if she do not die of it ere then; and therfor, prayed of her to show to her superieure the just raisons which moved me to pray her to dispense with that law in my behalffe. She went from me and returned with her superieures resolut answer, which was, that nather I, nor non other, should sie her before Easter. I was exceedingly commouved at this answer, and, repressing as much as I could my coler, said, I belive that I have done my duty to your mother superieur in asking civilly her permission to sie that ladye; and, since she hath refused my sute so rudly, I shal not address myselfe any mor unto her, but unto her superieurs. I am not so ignorant but that I know she is not abbesse of this house. Madame D'Orleans reserveth that quality to herselfe, who would never have refused me so imperiously such a thing. But I wil not trouble her heighnes. I can go and complain to the Quene, who knows me, and receaved that ladye from my hand, and is still her royal protectrix and myn, and wil not suffer her to be so thrallled as to refuse her leave to sie her frinds when they call for her. But I need not trouble her Majesty with the pride of Mother Magdalen. The Archbishop wil give



me an order to sie her when, and as oft as I wil, as wel in Lent as out of Lent, without obligation to your mother superieure.

The tourier without, a good civil woman, hearing me say these words, in some heat, to the inward tourier, followed me going away, and said, Monsieur, you are in coler, and you have raison; but hear me, if you please, and I wil show you a nerer way to gette of your wil. I wil hear you willingly, said I; which is the way? M. L'Abbe de Saurois, said she, is their superieur, a very civil and obliging man. Go and visit him, he liveth in the street of St. Anthoin, just over against the Filles de St. Marie, and show him that you are come so far of to sie Madimoselle Gordon, and how the Mother Superieure hath refused to lette you sie her before Easter, and he wil give you an order to sie her when you wil, and the mother darre not refuse you any more. I thought the gentlewomans counsel good, and thanked her for it; her name was Madimoselle Poysson, a pouer widow Lorain. I used her counsel, and went straight to the Abot, and tould him how I had bein traited at Charon. He said he was sorry, and promised to make me sie the ladye as oft as I would desire it, and tould me what had mouved the Mother Magdalene to do so thus: The Mother Superieure, said he, made a statut that the pensionnaires should not speak at the parloir in Lent, and made reade it at denner publicly. The rest of the pensionnaires did not oppose it, but she stud up, and said, Madame, content yourselfe in making rules to your religieuses, and mak non for us, who are not subject to you, for we wil receave non of them; and then the rest, by her example, refused to accept it, and the mother, to punish her boldness, said, because you were the first that was so bold as to oppose me, if any cal for you they shal not sie you in Lent. But come again to me upon Thursday, befor eight houres, and I shal tak you ther in my carrosse, and mak you speak with her then, and as often as you please thereafter; or, if you be pressed to returne sooner to Normandie, I shal wreat to the mother now to content you. I said that I would not return to Normandie until I should sie the event of her disease. So I went with him upon Thursday, did sie her then, and every other day for the space of four weekes, and contracted good frindshipe with the Abot, which did me good thereafter.

When I had knowen her disease, I consulted Doctor Davidson for it, and he bidde me gette for her true roses of Provin liquid. I went to seek them in the Rue of St. Anthoin, it being my way to Charon, and, by good

fortune, the first chope in which I sought them, the maister, being a very honest man, asked me if they were for a seek person or not, and telling him that the personne had a defluxion upon her lungs, he bidde me send a man expressly to Provin for them; for, said he, there be non true in Paris. Every on wil say to you that they have the best of Provin, but trust them not, for really they have non; I could say as much as any other, but I wil not deceave a sick personne. I thanked him, and said I would send there. But, considering with myself that I had not a trustye man to send, and that another might easily deceave me, making me pay his voyage fourth and home, four dayes, for Provin is eighteen long ligues from Paris, and sitte in Paris, drinking my moneyes, and then buy theis things at the first droggists chope he cometh at, I, haveing my owne hors in Paris, thought it surest to go myselfe, which I did, and brought them to her in a bigge pot of stone, which did her great good. I road to Provin in one day, bot was two in comeing back again, for I road softly, fearing to spille the syrope of the roses. I stayed in Paris, for her sake, four weekes to sie how these roses liquids did worke upon her defluxion, and then retired to Normandie to my cure upon the evve of Passion Sunday.

§ 13. Of her going from Charon, first to the Monastery of St. Nicolas de Lorain, and next to the Abbey of Fervacque, and from thence to the Courte at St. Germain en Ley.

The ladye, longing very much to be out of Charon, and Madame de Brienne never returning to sie her, after she had put her in their, nor non other who could do her any service, she caused adverteis me to come to her, which I did; and, how soone she did sie me, she prayed me earnestly to tak her out of that monastery, and place her in some other, for she could not endure the humeur of Mother Magdalene; and the truth is, she was very hardly used there, which did mouve me to great compassion. She had nothing but her dyet for her hundred pistolles, except a furnished bedde, which the Abbot de Saurois, aumonier, did buy for her, and did stand her to fourty pistolles; so there were threescore pistolles for her owne dyet, without a servande. She did press me very much to gette her out of that housse. I tould her, that since Madame de Brienne, by her Majesties order, had putten her their, she could not be taken out but by the same

order, which would be difficult to be obtained. O, said she, but you will easily obtain it, for you have so good luck that nothing go against you which you attempt; therfor, I pray you, speak to Madame de Brienne, or Madame de la Flotte, and they will procure from the Quene licence to cheang me from this monastery to another. I promised to do my diligence, but could not promise the effect which she desired; for, said I, the Quene will not take it well, perhaps, to be troubled with your so frequent cheanging from monastery to monastery. Yet, I shall try what I can do. But, I pray you, do not ascribe to my fortune, good or badde, these things which I have effectuated through much paines and diligent sollicitation, without which I never brought any thing to a good end. So I did take my leave of her for that tyme.

The very next day I went to Madame de la Flotte, and I told her that Mademoiselle Gordon was very wearied in Charon, and but hardly used, and prayed to speak to the Quene to gette her licence to go from thence to some other monastery, where she might be better. Her answer to me was, that Madame de Brienne had taken that ladye off of her hand, and had more credit than she, and that therfor I should address myself unto her. For said she, so long as I had charge of her, you was not troubled with her as you know; and now I will not take her off of Madame de Briennes hand, nor medle with any of whom she hath the charge. So I went from her to Madame de Brienne, who told me that she had discharged herself of that ladye upon the Mother Magdalenne, and would not medle with her any more. So having no better answer, I knew not to whom I could address myself any more but to the Quene her owne selfe, and I was affrayd to be troublesome unto her Majesty, yet knowing no other recours, I was constrained to go to her, and make the best appologie that I could for my importunity, rather nor lette the poure ladye suffer as she was doing. So I went to her Majesty in the Pallais Royale, and told her that Mademoiselle Gordon was not so well used in Charon as she was among the Filles de St. Marie, and had rather cloathes nor linnings, nor could she gette any compte of the pension which her Majesty bestowed upon her, from the Mother Magdalenne, and that therfor I was come to supplicat her Majesty to suffer her to come from thence, and go to some other monastery, wher she might be better, and I told also that I had been with Madame de Brienne for that same sujet, who gave me no other answer but that she would not medle any more with her. Her Majesty heard me very patiently, and then said, I

I did put her wher she was wel traited, and might have been wel yet, until the occasion had offered that I might haue taken her, but she would not remain ther. Then I did put her with Madame de Brienne to be tryed if she were capable to be at courte, who could not endure her pride and vanity, a sufficient prooffe that she would not well aggree with her owne equales of both aage and quality, since she had not complaisance for so verteous and grave a ladye aboue herself. And now I cannot tak her to the courte, for the number of filles is compleet, which I cannot augment, nather can I put any away to tak her. Wherfor if she hath suffered, or do suffer hereafter, she cannot blame any bodye but her owne selfe. Therfor let her learn prudence to governe herself, and I shall not be defective on my pairt. In the mean tyme, I wil that you know that when I receaved her from your hand, I did not discharge you of the care of her personne. I did indead charge myself with her pension, and shal make it be duely payed; but I left the government of her unto you. Therfor tak her out or leave her their, or put her ather in monasterye, or privat housse, as you wil judge fitting. It is al one to me where she be, so that she be in good company; for I leave the charge of her unto you.

I returned from her Majesty wel pleased with this her answer, more cairful of the profite and pleasur of this ladye than of myn own wellfaire. For this newe engagement, shal I cal it, or rather continuation of the burthen which I had joyfully borne ever since the decesse of her noble mother of happy memory until that time, and fully eight years thereafter, until the 1664 year of God, did coaste me both paines and expenses, which I thought al wel employed, until the yeare above cited, that I did sie my kindnes rewarded with many and ignominious affronts, wherof I shal speak heirafter, and now follow fourth my discours. I went to Charon, and tould the ladye what I had done, and the answer of her Majesty, wherein I willingly concealed a parcel, to wit, that I might place her in any privat housse, with good company, because if she had knowen it, she would never have entered again in a monastery for me, althought a monastery was more convenient for her than any private house, how good soever it wer. She was overjoyed that the Quene had given leave to change her from Charon to any other monastery, and offered to go willingly to whatsoever I could find, she was so wearied their. I did go to many monasteries, seeking to settle her in one, and could not find any who would accept of fourty pistolles for her pension. Madame de St. Anthoin refused to give her table for an hundreth

pistolles. Many would not receave pensionnaires passed fyfteen years, and others were so deare, that I gave over almost hope to find place for her in any monastery, and I was loath to put her in any privat housse, wher I knew she would ather get or else tak too much liberty. At the last, enquiring at many wher I could place her, I was addressed to St. Nicolas de Lorain, in the Fauxbourg de St. Germain, forder out than the barefooted Carmes, halfe way to Veangirard. Ther I agreed with Madame Victoria Savary, daughter to the Marquis de Breuve, who was ambassador at Constantinople, wher he married a ladye of the family of Paleologs, sometimes emperours of the Orient, and converted her from Mahometisme to the Chrestienne Catholick religion. She boore to him two daughters in Constantinople, and dyed ther. The ambassadeur brought with him to France theis two yong ladyes, to wit, this Victoria and Isabelle, and placed them religieuses in the Abbay of St. Eutrope, out of which this Victoria was choisen to be superieur to the ladyes of St. Nicolas de Lorain, retired to France by reason of the weares in Lorain. They were of the order of the Annonciad, with reed scapulaires, as are the ladyes of St. Eutrope. I agreed with this ladye for fourty pistolles be yeare, for her table only. This Victoria was a most generous ladye, evil traited by her sisteres, who she would have reformed, but could not.

When I had found a monastery for her, I could not bring her to it until such time as she were cloathed al newe, for the cloths which she had were much worne, and the Mother Magdalene would nather give her cloathes, nor any compte of her pension. I prayed the Abbe de Sauroy, their superieur, to oblige her to mak a compte of her pension. He answered, that, she being a religieuse woman, her word saying that she had bestowed al her pension upon her, wil be received befor any juge, without showing any particular compte how and wherin it had been employed. And she asseureth me, said she, that she hath bestowed it wholly upon her. I, sieing there was nothing to be expected that way, went to Mr. Savinon, a tailleur for women, who had made the first clothes that she gotte in France, and caused him make a gowne for her of gray drape de Hollande, with broad silver lace, which cost eighteen pistolles at ten livres, which is an hundreth and fourscore livres; and the eighth of January, 1647, I did hyre a carosse, and transport her from Charon to the monastery of St. Nicola de Lorain, where she remained until the tent day of August next following, that the monastery did brack up, and then she went to Fer-



vaque, the tent of the forsaid August. The monastery of Fervaque is in the Faubourg of St. Germain. She was wel treated in that monastery, and remained ther from the tent day of August, 1647, until the twentye of January, 1649. Heir I remember that I had said above, in the beginning of this paragraphe, that she had gotten in Charon a furnished bedde, but, looking over my papers, I did, since I had written so, find the compte of the moneyes which I had received of her pensions and the deboursments therof. I did find, I say, in theis comptes, that when she was in St. Nicolas de Lorain, I payed out of her pension of the 1647 year, fourtie crownes to Mr. Boursier, frippier, dwelling in the montain of St. Geneviefve, for her tour du liet, which had bein taken upon credit, and not payed befor.

The tent of August, 1647, she went to the monasterie of Fervaque, and remained ther until the beginning of the first weares of Paris, about the ninth or tenth of January, 1649, that the King was convoyed secretly from Paris to St. Germain en Lay, the eve of the Epiphany or Kings day, that the Parisiens barricaded themselves, drauing their chains at al the carfoures through the towne and Fauxbourg, and the prince blocked the towne, and then al the pensionnaires in the monasteries went to their parents, to live with them, thinking themselves not secure enough in monasteries placed in Fauxbourgs; yea, the religieuses that were in Fauxbourgs, and in the countrie about Paris, retired within the walles for their greater security. I was then in great paine for her, not knowing wher to loge her, nor wherupon to enter-tean her, for ther was no hope of getting her pension in that combustion. The best cours that I could then think upon was to bring her to Monsieur d'Orsay his hous, wher I was living myselfe, and let my gages stand for her pension. I did propose my designe to Mr. and Madame d'Orsay. They would not refuse me, but were loath to accept of her; and bidde me let her stay in the monastery so long as the religieuses stayed, and when they retired, bring her then, if no better thing occurred. God only knoweth the perplexity that my hart did suffer, which nather my tongue nor penne can describe. But the providence of Almighty God cometh never too late. For, while my hart was almost drowned in the flood of distresse, he inspired the most noble and charitable Quene to remember upon her, who sent on of his Majesties carosses for her, with two of her esquiers, to bring her to St. Germain to her Majesty. My Lord of Aubeny did then prove her friend; and Madame de Brienne, then in St. Germain with the

Quene, did give leane to loge her in her house for two or three dayes that these esquiers were to stay in Paris for their affaires. Theis gentlemen were addressed to my Lord of Aubeny to cause him deliver her in their handes, as her nere cousin, which was wel considered ; for if they had addressed themselves to her only or to me, I, not knowing them, would never have souffered her to go with them, although I should have been re-dacted to begge her living for her ; for I do much mistrust Frenchmen in that nature. My Lord of Aubeny, haveing sein their ordre to bring her and another gentlewoman, who was one of her Majestys *femmes de chambre*, did go to the pally, and obtained from the parlement an passe for them two. The passport was very imperfeit, for it did not beare their names, but only spok of two gentlewomen, unnamed any of them ; which almost did coast them their lives. And then a yong gentlewoman, a widow in Normandie, finding the occasion of his Majestys carrosse, and being acquainted with on of the esquiers, would nedes go with them, for to winne out of Paris. For then they suffered non to go out or come in without good passeports, which were difficil to be obtained. Theis things were two or three dayes or mor in doing, and yet she did not advertis me of anything that she was doing or to do, which indead I did tak very evil ; and, as a true mark of ingratitude, to go away unletting me know wher, how, or in what company she were gone, notwithstanding the charge and care that I had of her. Upon Saturday, the twenty-third of January, 1649, the three gentlewomen and the esquiers, and my Lord Aubeny with them, in the King his carrosse, about eight or nynne a clock in the morning, marched towards the port of St. Jacques, wher the ladyes brains had bein al beaten out with musket stocks, if my Lord Aubeny had not bein with them. For how soon the carrosse passed the Jacobins Gate, to go towards port, the sentinel commanded them to stand, and called his corporel. My Lord Aubeny presented their pasport to the corporal, and he carried it to the captaine. The captain reading it for two gentlewomen unnamed, and he seing three in the carosse, challenged it as unvalide upon two cheiffe points. First, because it was only from the parlement, and not from the princes protecteurs and generals, to wit, the Prince of County, generalissime of the forces of the citie, and the Duc d'Ebeuffe, general, the Duc de Longovile, and the Duc de Beaufort. Secondly, it was given but for two, and there were three in the carrosse, and non of their names in it, which, said he, giveth us suspicion that they be personnes who darres

not avouche themselves heir. Upon theis last wordes, the garde and the people gathered about the carrosse, cryed out they are the nieces of Mazarin; we wil knock them downe; so that the captaine and his under officers had much adoe to keep the rest of the gnard, which consisted of an hundred and twenty, not hyred souldiers, who would be more obedient, but of bourgeois and prentises, or servants of bourgeois, who were not wel disciplined. My Lord Aubeny did know the captain, and he him, and offered to oblige himselfe to loose both his life and al his goods, if ther were any ther apperteaning to Mazarin. Wherupon the people did calme themselves a litle, but would not suffer them to passe, threatening that if the captain suffered them to passe, that they would pul the carrosse in peices, and kil every on who is in it. So the captain tould my Lord Aubeny that he could do them no greater favour then to lette them turne back againe with their lyves safe, which he accepted, and he sent a part of the guard with them, until they were a litle past the crowd of the tumulting people, who thought that theis guard had bein convoying them to the chastelet prisonniers. I did go that same day to the Hostel de Brienne, afternoone, to sic her, not knowing any such thing, and ther she did tel me al, and my Lord Aubeny himself, upon the next Monday, tould me al at greater lenth.

Upon Sunday, my Lord Aubeny did go to the princes and gette their pasport for the three gentlewomen, with all their names in it. That same Sunday, I returned to sic Madiemoselle Gordon, and to learne what my Lord Aubeny had done, and she tould me that they were to parte upon Monday, about nynne of the clock. I was at the Hostel de Brienne before eight, and brought to her some things necessary for her voyage, and some biscuits to eat in the carrosse, because she had not eaten that day, and it would be night befor they could be at St. Germain, by raison that al the bridges between Paris and St. Germain were cuted, by order from the Quene-Regent, to hinder the Parisiens from going to St. Germain to bring the King back againe, as they threatened they would doe, but did not sture. The breache of these bridges obliged the Kings carrosse to go by the Port of St. Jacque and by Medune, down that same side of the river, until they were at St. Germain, and so mak the double of the nerest way by the port of St. Honore. They pairted from the Hostel de Brienne upon Munday the twenty-fifth January, 1649, day of the conversion of St. Paul, and my Lord Aubeny with them, in the Kings carrosse; and I, on foote,

was at the Port of St. Jacque as soone as they in the carrosse with sex brave black horses. When we came to the port, my Lord Aubeny presented their pasport to the corporal, and he did cary it to the captain, a counseller of the parlement, not he who was upon the Saturday befor, for the guards wer relived every four and twenty houres. How soone the captain had redde their passe, he bidde them go forward. I went with them, to be assured of their passage through the Fauxbourg, which is ful of comon people, who are not so civil as the good bourgeois are; and, moreover, they were to passe through another guard, at the Faux Port, in the utter end of the Fauxbourg. I kept close by the carrosse, although the horses did runne every foote, and passed through that guard with them until they were in the oppen feilds, and then recommending them and their jorney to Almighty God, and bidding them adieu, returned back again to the porte, wher the captain said I had taken much nedles paines, for, said he, I tould you when you were going out, that the utter guard durst not mak obstacle to such as we lette passe out heir. I feared not so much the guardes, said I, as the common people. My Lord Aubeny returned home on foote how soon they were passed the first porte, and I went home to the logie of M. d'Orsay in the Rue de la Verrerie, and I did not sie her nor hear from her from thence until Easter.

When they arrived at St. Germain, the Quene knew not how to dispone of her, becaus the number of her filles was compleit, and Madame de Brienne would not medle with her any more. The Quene tould her that she havcing no vaking place for her, would place her with Madame la Princesse. She answered her Majesty verie couragiously, saying that she had never done anything to displease her parents, who, she knew, would be heighly displeased hearing that she, who came to France to wait upon her Majesty, had descended to serve the Princesse of Condie, and prayed her Majesty to excuse her if she refused to do that which her parents would disavouche in her, and said that she would rather returne to a monastery then serve Madame la Princesse. The Quene did not tak in il part this her generous answer, but did pray Monsieur le Prince and Madame to keep her with them as a frind, until she could tak her to herself, which at the present she could not do. They, to oblige the Quene, did accept of her as a frind, and made her sitte at their owne table; where she remained in that posture until the Princes, to wit, Condy, County, and Longoville were sent prisonniers to Bois de Vincien, and then the princes would not keep her

any longer, but, few days after their imprisonment, sent her to Madame de Brienne in a sedane, and Madame de Brienne would not receive her, but sent her to my Lord Aubeny, who sent her back to Madame de Brienne, and bidde tel her that he had no woman in his house, and, therfor, could not receive her without disparagement of her honor and his. Madame de Brienne would not lette her come within her house, but sent for Madame Feran, a counselors ladye, and prayed her to tak the yong ladye in her carrosse, and deliver her to Madame de la Flotte, in the Pallay Royal. When they arrived their, it was wel nynne a'clock at night. Madame de la Flotte seing them come to her at that tyme of the night, and beliving that this ladye, to wit, Madame Feran, had bein but one of Madame de Briennes waiting gentlewomen, did claw her up soundly for bringing Madiemoselle Gordon their to her at that tyme of the night. Madame de Feran, perceiving that Madame de la Flotte was mistaken in her personne, did tel her that she did not depend on Madame de Brienne, but was such counsellers wyff, nere neighbour to Madame de Brienne, who, said she, prayed me to tak her in my carrosse, and bring her heir to you. I did not know but that you had prepared a chamber for her, and had bein welcome to you, otherwise I would not have medled myself with that business. I did it to oblige Madame de Brienne, undisobliging you. I wil receive no more commissions from Madame de Brienne. Madame de la Flotte, knowing her owne mistak, did ask the ladyes pardon, and did show her that she could not receive Madiemoselle Gordon that tyme in the night, because she had not a bedde to lay her in, unles I would sitte up myself and give her myn, said she, and, therfor, I pray you tak her back to Madame de Brienne, who hath both beddes and chambers of reserve, and bring her to me the morrow, and I shal provid a chamber for her. The good ladye did tak her back again, but Madame de Brienne would not lette open her gate to her although she would have lye upon the streat al night; so Madame de Feran, haveing compassion upon her, did tak her home with her, and gave her her owne bedde, and she and her husband did lye in a litle bouge that night. So Madiemoselle Gordon might have learned by Madame de Briennes unkindnes towards her, how imprudent a thing it is to neglect powerful persons, able to do both good and evil.

These princes were sent to Bois de Vincien upon the night, betwixt one and two houres, and the next morning Paris was ful of their imprisonment. I did go, how soone I heard it, to sic Mademoiselle Gordon, and to pray



her not to go from the princesse her housse, until she should hear from the Quene, unlesse the princesse did command her, which Madame de la Flotte had bidden me tel her as from my owne selfe, because her Majesty would tak it evil if she should go from thence without order. So she remained there some three dayes, and one of her heighnes *femmes de chambre* kept her linnens, and would not deliver them until she were payed of twelf gold pistolles and an half which Madiemoselle Gordon was resting to her. When she did tel me that her linnings were deteaned for such a soome, which she did avouche was juste debte, I went to Mr. Leith, then Superiour of the Scots College, and did borrow from him twelf Gould pistolles and a half, and brought them the next day to her in the princesse housse, and, before Mademoiselle Gordon, counted with the woman, and payed her; and that same day betwixt fyve and sex houres afternoone, the princesse sent her away to Madame de Brienne, wher she was balloted too and froe, poor ladye, lyk a tinnis courte ball, nere four houres, which I did not know until the morrow, that I did go to the princesse house to sie her, and their they tould me that her heighnesse had sent her to Madame de Brienne the night befor; and when I came to Madame de Briennes housse, the servants tould me that their maistresse did not receive her, but sent her first to my Lord Aubeny, who would not receive her, and next to the Pallay Royal, to Madame de la Flotte. When I was resolved to go to the Pallay Royale, the porter who heard me say so, and did know me wel, to sauve my labour, did tel me that I would get seur word wher she were at Mr. Feran his house. For, said he, yeaster night, about tenne oclock, Madame Feran brought her from the Pallay Royal heir, and my mistresse would not lette oppen the gate to her. So Madame Feran can tel you best wher she is. He did show me Mr. Feran his logis, not far from the Hostel de Brienne. God knowth how greived I was to hear that she had bein tossed too and froe in that kind. I went to Mr. Feran his logis, and enquired for her their, and Madame Feran did go with me to her chamber, wher I did sie her in their bedde. Madame and I went out to give her liberty to rise and cloath herself, and in the mean tyme tould me how the poure ladye had bein traited the night befor, and how if it had not bein for her, she had lyen al night in the streate.

How soone the ladye was cloathed, Madame Feran did tak her and me with herself in her carosse to the Pallay Royal, and delivered her to Madame de la Flotte, who received her civilly, and Madame Feran returned

home to her owne housse, in the Fauxbourg of St. Germain, upon the water side, nere wher the Theatins are now, and I to Mr. d'Orsay his logis, in the Rue de la Verrerie, wher I was then living.

The taking of theis princes prisonniers was the ocession, and this the façone of her going to courte to wait upon the Quene. Its true, she was not yet one of the Quenes ordinary filles, but only supernumeraire, becaus the ordinarie number was compleet. She was two yeares or therabout at courte, befor she gotte the pas as they call it ; that is to say, a rank, so as that at a feast or souper, wher the King, or Monsieur, his brother, were invited, the daughter of Madame de Bauve, did tak the place and sitte downe before her at table. Wherupon I haue seine verses, burlesques, made on that super. At which supper, Monsieur hearing the rest of the filles railing her, did tak her under his protection, and never abandoned her since. From ons she was at courte she vilified me altogether, not caring for any (as I thought them at least) good advyces that I could give her, but esteained them foolish wordes, flowing from the moth of an old dotting man, which she herself expressed to Mr. L'Abbe Chambers, who was one of Cardinal Mazarius ausmoniers, and had served the Cardinal de Richelieu in that same quality, who bestowed upon him two priewries, worth fyve thousand livres of rent. This Mr. L'Abbe de Chambers, being our contrie man, and a wel willer, challenged her that she did not follow my consselles. she answered him saying, Cest un bon homme que Monsieur Blakhal. He hearing her say that disdainful word, did rattle her up to a purpose, and said to her, you have raison, indeed, to cal him a good man, but not through disdain as you do it, but through true gratitude. For he hath been the best man to you that ever you did sie with your eyes ; for he hath done for you mor then your owne father could or would have done for you. No preist, I darre say, ever did so much for a ladye, nor so often tymes exposed their lyves, as he hath done for you ; and now al the recompencee that you give him is to esteame him a foole for doing so much good to you, and evil to himself. For his charity towards you is so great, that he thought it nothing to have brought you out of your contry from misery, with great paines and hazard of his lyffe, and have procured for you heir a competent subsistance, to attend a better fortune, if he should not yet for to serve you, quyt the litle establishment which he had in Normandye, resigning a benefice worth a thousand franck be yeare for a pension of three hundreth for to wait upon your affaires heir. If he deserveth to be called a foole for that, you may

lette others cal him so, but you not, for whois sak he committed that fault. And not to flatter you, Madamoisel, your vilifying him who hath done the part of a father unto you, wil mak other loath to serve you. She had not one word to reply to him, but only said that she meant no evil in calling me a good man. Mr. L'Abbe Chambers tould me this much of this bout which he had with her. He was a very good friend wher he professed frindshippe, and scorned to flatter any body great or smal.

#### ¶ 14. The Epilogue, or conclusion of this treaty of the services done to Madam Gordon.

As the reward of honest love is the reciprocation of the same, without which it cannot be paid with whatsoever other coine, so is the recompence of sincere frindshippe the retour of such lyke frindshipe back againe, without which it cannot be durable, but must dissolve, and vanish away, when aither of the parties doth contemne, disdain, or neglect the other, much mor if the one, without evident raison, or any just cause, do affront the other. This nedeth no probation, for every one endued with common sence wil avouch the verity heirof, and ingeneuously confesse that real frinds are much to be esteamed, and carefully conserved more then the most pretious jewelles which may be bought for gould, when only God can give a true frind. As Salomon saith, Ther be nothing compairable to a faithful frind, (Ecclesiastik vi.) who do find him do find a treasour. And in an other place (Proverbior xi.), Who despiseth his owne frind wanteth harte, that is to say, witte; and yet in another place (Ecclesiastik ix.), Leave not your ancient frind, because the newe shal not be lyk him.

Now, Madame, I wil not repeat heir over againe the paines that I haue taken to do you good; for whosoever wil tak the paines to reade what I haue wreaten heir above in threine paragraphes, wil know, by the workes themselves, if I haue bein a faithful frind to you or not. And theis few instances which I shal wreat down heir, wil lykways show what esteame you haue made of my friendship and of myself. It is certain that nothing do so wel discover who is a real frind, who is indifferent, that is, nather frind nor foe, who is a dissimulat or feined frind, who is an oppen enemy, as adversity. For as the Ecclesiastik, cap. xii., sayeth, A frind is not known in prosperity, and an ennemy is not hidden in adversity. Ther are

many branches of this general evil, and each of them, altho'ught they haue their owne particular names, chalenge to itself the general name. So poverty is a kind of adversity, seiknes, banishment, emprisonment, disgrace, and many mor evils, ar al, and every on of them in particular, kyndes of adversity, and capable aneough to try true frinds, and mak them knowne and discerned from al others, whether indifferents, fals frind, or foes.

Now, to come to our purpose, you may remember yet, Madame, how careful I was of your health when you were in Charon, troubled with a defluccion falling upon your lungs; how I came to Paris from my cure, twenty ligges of, to visit you at Charon, and learning that true and natural roses of Provin liquid were a soverain confection for your disease, I did go to Provin, eighteen ligges from Paris, not to be deceaved with quid pro quo d'apothecare, and brought a boxful to you in Charon, and remained in Paris fyve weeks from my cure upon my owne charges, to see the event of that remede, and neverthelesse kepted housse at my cuir to my vicair and my vallet. Truly, Madame, I sette al theis peines and expenses at noght, as I had done much mor befor that tym, and would have given you the best blood in my body, if it could have done you good. Mr. L'Abbe Letus can beare witnes to this, who used to say that to mak Mr. Blakhal come to Paris out of Normandie, ther neded no more but to wreat to him that Mademoiselle Gordon hath a sore head. So can my Lady Arrundaile, the douarier, your owne cousine, who made no litle esteame of my love and frindshippe towards you, and so did her sister, my Ladye Portlande. Nather of them, I may be bold to say, would refuse me accesse to themselves, if I were at their gates, as you have done many tymes; for they have given me many proofes of their resentments for the good offices which I had done unto you.

Now, Madame, if I should have fallen seek in Normandie at my cure, would any reasonable man or woman, knowing my carriage towards you, think that I might not justly haue expected that much favour of you, as that you would at least haue sent some laque to sie me, or to carie a letter to me from you, condoling my casse, and enquiring the stat of my health. I do belive that every one wil think that my frindshippe towards you had deserved, at least, that much reciprocation from you. But true it is, Madame, that you were so farre from having any disposition in you to send twenty ligges to enqyr of my health, although I had been never so seek, that even in Paris, you being also in it, I have been two divers tymes so

seek, that, as we say, there was but one haire betwixt me and death : ones in the rue de la Verrerie, the sommer after the first warres of Paris, in the logis of Monsieur d'Orsay, when you wer in the Pallay Royal, wher Monsieur de Marseille, gouverneur of Gran upon the Loir, brother to Madame d'Orsay, tould you that I was very seek. Heir are his owne wordes to you, as he himself reported them to me : Mademoiselle, ne savez vous pas que vostre bon amy, Mr. Blacal meure dans la maison de ma soure a la rue de la Verrerie ? And you answered him thus : Monsieur, nous sommes mal ensemble. As if that had bein a just and lawful cause why you should not have bein sensible of myn affliction. I wil not tel heir the cause of our being mal ensemble, for your sake. This much I wil avouche, that I did reprehend you for something which did grieve me to sie. My words were indead sharpe, and, it may be, bitter also : for I use not to dissemble the faultes of my beloved frinds, nather can I flatter them when they should be severely reprehended. You did tak this my reprehension so evil, although it proceeded from my care both of your personne and honor, that you had the courage, I wil not say wro, to boast me to the doore of your chamber. I did obey you, with the intention never to come againe to sie you, but the obligation that I had to your noble mother, made me swallow that affront, and returne again to sie you, but not before a whole yeare was expired. This is al that I can expresse heir of our being mal ensemble. And, to returne again to Monsieur de Marseille, he replied to your mal ensemble thus : Mademoiselle, vous me faites rougir, a vous entendre dire que vous etez mal avec Mr. Blacal, qui vous a servy de pere, et vous a retire de vostre pays au peril de sa vie, comme vous m'avez avoue vous-mesme. Vous ne deviez jammais avoir este mal avec celuy qui vous a rendu tant de bons offices. And, having said this, went from you much discontented, and tould me how soone he came home to his sisteres loging, wher he stayed so long as he was in Paris for his affaires at the courte ; and said that he was astonished at your insensibility, both of the good which I had done you, and of the evil which I was enduring. For, said he, if she were sensible of her owne profite, she could not be so insensible of your peine. This seeknes continowed from the eve of the Ascension untill the fyfteine day of January next following, eight months, in al which tyme, you had not the charity to send an lacque ones from the Pallay Royal to the midst of the rue de la Verrerie, to sie if I were dead or living.



Next, I being loged in the montain of St. Genevieve, in the house of Mr. Menieis of Belgowny, did falle seik of an hotte burning fever upon Candlemes day, after the second warres of Paris. I and a gud pouer gentlewoman, called Jeane Gordon, sister to Patrick Gordon, who was marichal de logis to the Scots gens d'armes, acquired our seiknes waiting upon Doctor Gordon and his wyff, and three yong children, who were al fyve seik at one tyme, so as that non of them could help another. This Jeane Gordon did falle seik of an hotte burning fever the twenty day of January, and departed from this lyffe the twenty-seven; and upon Candlemesse day I did fal seik of that same kynd of fever. But, befor I fell seike, sieing that I could not find wemen to wait upon Dr. Gordon his wyffe, nather for payment nor for prayers, for Mistresse Maitland watched with her two dayes and two nightes, but would not continow more, I went to the hospitalieres by the Place Royale, and procured a bedde for her their, and transported her their, but would not lette her know that Jeane Gordon was decessed, because it might have done her evil, being she was so very seik as she was. I promised to visit her, and bring her newes of her husband and children, who were al out of danger and recovering, but I was preveined by my owne seiknes.

When I did fal seik, I had but sex sols of money in my pocket, and was resting two and twenty sols to a crocheteur for a charge of coutres, so I had sexteine sols lesse than nothing. I, sieing myself in that casse, urged to be sent to the Hostel Dieu, but the Lady of Belgowny, in whose housse I was, would not suffer it. Then I remembered that Mademoiselle Gordon, at the courte, was resting to me twelf gould pistolles and an halfe, which I had laid out for her to relieve her linnings, when she went out of the princes her housse. I could not find any body who would tak the paines to go to the Pallais Royal to ask them from her, every one thinking that it would be but labour lossed. Yet Mr. Joan Black, a good and verteous priest of our owne countrie, confesseur to the Hospitalieres nonnes of Gentilie, comeing to visit me, did me the charity to go to the Pallay Royal and tel her my casse, and pray her to send me some money, in part of payment of the twelfe gould pistolles and an halfe which she was resting me. He did speak with her, and tould her what case I was in, both of bodey and pursse, yet returned home with empty handes. Yet he had the goodness to go again to her the next day, and returned as befor; which

did so disgust him, seing her nothing touched for al that he could say to her of my seiknes and necessity, no more then if he had bein speaking to her of ane persone whom she had never sein nor heard of before, that he would not consent to returne any more to her in vane. Yet the Ladye of Belgowny, fearing that the charges of my burial should fal upon her, I dying in her house, without moneyes of myn owne, prayed him so earnestly, that he went ones yet to her, and at that time ratled her so wel up in anger that she gave him fourteen white crownes, which made fourty-two francs, which he delivered to Mrs. Maitland, who waited upon me in my seiknes, wherof she made me good compte, after I was recovered. From the very begining of this seiknes, I did persuad myself that I would dy of it, because Jeane Gordon, who was a strong yong woman, dyed of such another feaver the week befor ; and if the crise had not come on the seventh day, I could not have resisted longer, the feaver was so violent, as indeed non that did sie me did think that I could pass the seaventh day, which was Saterdag, the eight of February. I disposed myself for death the best that I could, haveing received the viatiek and extreme unction the night betwixt Fredday and Saterdag. My chamber was ful of people, who sat up al night to sie me dye, persuading themselves that I could not pass the night ; and Doctor Donaldson did come to sie me upon Saterdag, about nine of the clock befor noone, and gave me a litle whyte powder, which advanced the crise, which did come within a quarter of an hour after I had taken the powder, through a violent sweat. Then I began to feele my seeknes, wherof I was insensible befor, and for the space of four weekes thereafter, I had an entermetting feaver every day.

Now, Madame, in al this tyme of fyve or sex weekes, did you ever wreat or send so much as ones to sie how I was ? Never at al. You could not pretend ignorance of my condition, seing that Mr. Black did go so oft tymes to you, and so much importune you for to get back a smal part of the moneyes which I had pleasantly disbursed for you how soone I knew your necessity therof. Nather could you serve yourself of our being mal ensemble, for we were not mal ensemble then. But you may, inead, say with great truth that you were never bien ensemble with me ; that is to say, you never cared for me, but when you neded me ; and I belive you to be the same unto al others, men or women, what you have bein to me. Otherwayes you cannot be excused from ingratitude towards me, who have

deserved at your hands more, both of love and honor, nor any other man or woman ever did, without exception of your father or mother of blessed memorie.

Now, Madame, think you that any discreet person, who readeth these passages of our carriage one towards another, paralleled together, wil judge you to be a thankful ladye, or one who deserveth sincer and faithful frinds, or trustie servants? Or wil any who hath heared or redde this brief narration of the services I haue done to yourself, your noble mother, and tante, and the many affronts which you have rendred me for the recompence of my services, think or belive that I have deserved such a reward from you? If you do think so, you are much deceaved. For they who have known but the least part of my cariage towards you, and of yours towards me, do condemne you of the greatest ingratitude that can be imagined. Your good frind, Mr. Conne, can tel you aneugh of this subject. to whos good counsels and advyses I remet you, and bidde you fairwel for ever.

FINIS.



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